THE · TREND OF · THE · RACES

George E. Haynes

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A Southern University

Among such young people as these are to be found future leaders of their race, trained by Christian men and women.

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THE TREND OF THE RACES

GEORGE EDMUND HAYNES, Ph.D.(Columbia)
Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Recently Director of the Bureau of Negro Economics, Department of Labor. Sometime Professor of Sociology and Economics at Fisk University.
Author of: *The Negro at Work in New York City*; and *Negro Newcomers in Detroit, Michigan.*

With an Introduction
BY JAMES H. DILLARD

See C.1.

Published jointly by
COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS
and
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
New York
1922

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CENTRAL BAPTIST SEMINARY
KANSAS CITY 2, KANSAS

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TO MY WIFE AND SON
COMPANION AND FOLLOWER
IN THE PATHS OF PEACE

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A FOREWORD

Again a new home mission study book is added to the lengthening series of such books issued by the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Missionary Education Movement. Their purpose primarily is to lead Christian people to the active practise of that cardinal principle of Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Obviously, if our neighbor is to be loved, he must be known. We must realize something of his racial mind and spirit, his handicaps, his achievements, his capacities, his horizon, his goals. Our seeking to know him must be on the basis of the broadest sympathy. In the friendliest and most helpful spirit we should sincerely desire to understand him in the place where he is and to apprehend something of the road by which he came and the direction of his highest and best aspirations, that we may, so far as we can, make it possible for him to attain his best in our common civilization. We should at the same time quite as earnestly seek to know ourselves in respect to our limitations, achievements, and goals in the building of the social order.

It is a valued privilege to have as the author of *The Trend of the Races* a gifted and honored representative of the Negro people. The following summary of his career appears in *Who's Who in America*:

"George Edmund Haynes, sociologist; born Pine Bluff, Ark., May 11, 1880; A.B., Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., 1903; A.M., Yale, 1904; student University of Chicago, summers 1906, 1907; graduate New York School of Philanthropy, 1910; European travel, 1910; Ph.D., Columbia University, 1912; Secretary Colored

Men's Department International Committee Y.M.C.A., 1905-1908; professor of sociology and economics, Fisk University, 1910-1920 (on leave, 1918-1920); Director of Division of Negro Economics, U. S. Department of Labor, May, 1918, to May, 1921. One of the founders and formerly Executive Director, National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes. Member American Academy of Political and Social Science; American Economic Association."

Dr. Haynes brings to his task, not only the results of thorough study, but also the experience gained by residence and investigation in communities of many different types. Between 1912 and 1920 he traveled in the rural districts of every Southern state and has visited all the cities, North and South, in which there is any considerable Negro population.

It is the earnest hope of the publishing committee that the book will create in all who use it a greater hunger and thirst after righteousness in the relationships between the races.

EDITH H. ALLEN, *Chairman,*
Joint Committee on Home Mission Literature representing The Council of Women for Home Missions and The Missionary Education Movement.

CONTENTS

PAGE

A Foreword v

Author's Preface xi

Introduction xiii

Chapter I. We Face the Future 1

Typical pioneers in race relations. Two methods of race adjustment. Conditions surrounding America's choice. White and Negro public opinion. The task in racial relations.

Chapter II. Sixty Years of Progress . . 23

Progress in economic relations. Development in industrial relations. The progress of Negro farmers. Growth of business enterprises. Progress in health. Progress in morals. Development of homes. Advance in community life. Progress in education. Advance in inventions and scientific discovery. Strength in Negro leadership. Progress in religious life. Need for increased opportunities.

Chapter III. The Trend of the Negro World 63

Types of mental and spiritual capacity. Evidence of mental capacity. Feelings influence attitudes and conduct. Humor and dramatic ability. Capacity for music; for poetry; for art. Religious genius of the Negro. Personal relations valued above property possession. Self-forgetful loyalty of the Negro. Tolerance and optimism under oppression. Rising tide of race consciousness. Increasing resentment and suspicion. The Negro as a contributor to American social consciousness. Survival of superstition and backwardness. The development of racial self-respect. What the Negro wants. Growing dependence of Negroes upon their own leaders. The Negro and the interracial mind.

PAGE

CHAPTER IV. THE NEGRO'S OFFERING TO THE STARS AND STRIPES . . . 99

In the War of the Revolution. In the conflict of 1812. In the Civil War. In the Spanish-American War. Negro citizenship. Friction due to exercise of the franchise. In the World War. Non-combatant service. In agriculture and industry during the War. Negro economics during the War. Negro women and the World War. In Liberty Loan and food campaigns. The Negro in the Army. Negro troops in action.

CHAPTER V. THE TREND OF THE WHITE WORLD 136

Attitudes and ways of action due to conscience. Influence of economic motives. Survivals from the past. Attitudes due to ideas of race. Effects of principles and ideals of democracy. The white race and the interracial mind.

CHAPTER VI. A WAY TO INTERRACIAL PEACE . 158

Racial contacts lead to racial good-will. Church coöperation leads to better understanding. Efficient coöperation in division of labor. Coöperative organization may be general. Mutual economic and life interests. Group interdependence between mental and social factors. Influence of race relations on white and Negro homes. The Church an avenue of racial coöperation. The Negro Church forced through discrimination. Satisfactory racial contacts through churches. Educational institutions may promote coöperation. Coöperative contacts through government. Voluntary organizations may coördinate interracial activities. Popular education needed. Mutual inheritance of ideals.

APPENDIX 195

BIBLIOGRAPHY 201

ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
A Southern university	*Frontispiece*
Farm instruction	32
Negro women in industry	64
Negro regiment returning from France	112
Negro shacks and new homes	144
A Negro city church	160

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Two score and nineteeen years have passed since the Emancipation Proclamation set America free. Since that time modern science and invention and world movements have brought the questions of race relations and democracy to the forefront of public policy, both national and international.

The records of the past have left mainly the experience of conflict and conquest in the dealings of the strong with the weak and the white with the black. Consequently, the world faces the new situations and the rising tide of race consciousness with quite as limited knowledge of whether the principles of racial appreciation and coöperation can be made practicable and how they may be achieved.

Experience in the adjustment of the relations of the white and Negro peoples in America, therefore, has great significance for the world-wide trend of the races. The very issue of whether or not there will soon be a warless world is involved because the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the contacts of the white and colored races. With such interests involved, no student of American race relations can well dogmatize or scold. What is needed is more light and less heat. Truth has only to be revealed to carry convictions; it cannot be permanently concealed. The light of knowledge and the conviction of truth beget action in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount.

There is now available a growing body of scientific and religious ideas and principles to guide the feeling, thinking, attitudes, and actions on such social questions. The author has here attempted an introduction to the discussion of the relations of the two races in America in the light

of some of these ideas and principles. He trusts that the reader will consider these pages with an open mind. Such bias as probably a writer cannot divest himself of in matters so vital is clear enough to be taken into account by the impartial judge. There are, doubtless, errors that will be apparent to the practised eye. There are repetitions of some points which recur in more than one phase of discussion.

Sources of evidence used have been noted in footnotes wherever possible; much of that which has come from leaflets, letters, clippings, and other sources cannot be acknowledged except in this general way. Special appreciation is hereby expressed to many friends and to my wife who have been generous in helpful criticism and encouragement and through whom past personal experience has made the book possible. Gratitude is offered to the Joint Committee on Home Mission Literature representing the Missionary Education Movement and the Council of Women for Home Missions and the office staff of these organizations for useful suggestions and unfailing courtesy.

The risks of criticism of this venture into popular presentation of such a delicate and difficult question have been taken in the hope of adding a useful line of thought that may be of value in dealing with the problems of the color line.

GEORGE EDMUND HAYNES

Washington, D. C.
April, 1922.

INTRODUCTION

By James H. Dillard

The publishers have asked me to write a brief introduction to this book by Dr. George E. Haynes. Many books are being issued, both in America and elsewhere, on various phases of race questions, but there is a place for this new volume. First let me say that I think Dr. Haynes is correct in expressing the opinion that the stirrings of race feelings and race issues throughout the world will affect race relations in our own country. There are plenty of people in the South who think of the problem as existing nowhere else. This shows ignorance of the facts, and yet those who think so are right to a certain extent; for not even in the Northern states is the problem quite the same as it is in the South, and especially in the rural South, where the masses of the colored population still live, and will probably continue to live. But even in the backgrounds of the South it will more and more be realized that a race question exists throughout the world, and the effect of this knowledge will be wholesome. For one of the needs of readjustment is the recognition of the fact, obvious of course but too much disregarded, that the Negro is a member of one of the great world races. What the author says about this and about the history of the race is well worth reading.

Dr. Haynes calls our attention to the fact that there are two ways of settling race conflicts, wherever the conflicts may be. One way is the way of force and violence. This has been the common way. The other way is the way of conciliation, understanding, and goodwill. As to the present situation in our own country he

asks, "Shall mutual misunderstanding, suspicions, and friction continue, growing more and more acute? Or shall mutual understanding, tolerance and good-will replace them?" This presents the issue perhaps rather too strongly, for there is already more understanding, more tolerance and good-will than the question would imply, and yet his question is the question. In a later part of the book he gives the desired answer in a quotation from the University Race Commission which says: "No fact is more clearly established by history than that hatred and force only complicate race relations. The alternative to this is counsel and coöperation among men of character and good-will, and, above all, of intelligent and comprehensive knowledge of the racial problem."

In 1913 in Atlanta a section of the Southern Sociological Congress held a meeting which was the first of its kind. White men and black men met together on the same floor and spoke to one another with frankness and without ill-temper. From that time down to the present, with the many local groups organized by the fine efforts of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation, there have been meetings of representatives of the two races at which more and more the spirit of understanding and coöperation has prevailed. When I think of this, and when I think of the increasing influences of school and church, in spite of lynchings and other evils of which we hear, I confess myself to have the hopeful note. I see too many good people who believe in what is right and who want to see righteousness practised, not to have the hope that the right alternative of the two ways will prevail. And shall we not have faith in education and religion, both of which great forces are doing their inevitable work? Our education is trying year by

year to touch life more closely. Our religion, calling itself Christian, is realizing that it must be so in practise as well as in name if it is to hold the allegiance of mankind. There has never been a clearer challenge to religion, as Dr. Haynes says, than exists to-day the world over in this matter of interracial relations. It was a question of the day in the time of Christ, and we know how he met it.

Surely I think we may have the hopeful note, and meanwhile do the thing which seems right for the day. Dr. Haynes says: "A close observation of opinion among all classes of Negroes discloses a slowly increasing spirit of resistance to injustice and mistreatment." This is true, and it heightens the challenge to all who are wishing and working for good relations. There is no doubt that disappointment has come, especially since the World War. But, as a friend has pointed out, the white people, as well as the colored people, had expectations beyond the realization. The world is still a long way from being safe for democracy. The fact is that great permanent changes, as readers of history know, take time, and are not very much accelerated even by crises. It is natural that there should be disappointment and resentment, and yet I have a profound belief in the practical commonsense of the masses of the Negro people.

An underlying thought of the present volume is given by the author himself. "Through all the chapters," he says, "and implicit in every section is the theme that the relations of the two races finally rest, not upon wealth or poverty, not upon things or lack of them, but upon the mental, moral, and spiritual attitudes and habits of conduct of life that grow out of the experiences of the two races as they have contact in agriculture, industry, education, government, religion, and the like. The great

hope of the future is that the ideals of Jesus may determine the conditions of these experiences and the conditions of these contacts." But this general statement is by no means an indication of the contents. The book is full of important facts and opinions. It is a timely and useful book. Its author is a man of education and high intelligence, whose peculiar opportunities of seeing all conditions of life among his people, and of knowing their thoughts, entitle him to be a spokesman and interpreter. I should say that the chief value of the book lies in this, that we have here, from such a man, a frank and philosophical statement and interpretation of "things as they are," as he honestly sees them.

THE TREND OF THE RACES

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CHAPTER I

We Face the Future

South and west from Philadelphia, one may visit here and there the open spaces and modest buildings of boarding-schools, institutes, and a few colleges filled with cheerful, buoyant youths whose smiling faces range in complexion from the luster of ebony to the radiance of polished ivory. Frequently one will find white teachers, but year by year they become fewer in number, as competent men and women of color arise and racial separation increases. A glance into the classrooms, the prayer services, the dormitories, the laboratories, and workshops, and an inspection of the play activities and student organizations brings an impression of institutions similar in kind to others in America, except that equipment in buildings, apparatus, books, and so forth is much less, efficiency from lack of funds is limited, and the recruits have come largely from less advanced homes and communities. At important central locations in every state of the South these institutions struggle on from year to year on meager funds supplied mainly by church missionary organizations. They send forth thousands of young people with a view of things in our modern world and with a larger purpose for the one life they have to live.

Turning into Negro neighborhoods in Southern cities such as Louisville, Nashville, Memphis, Birmingham, Atlanta, or, in smaller places, such as Bowling Green, Ky., Columbia, Tenn., Athens, Ga., Huntsville, Ala.,

Jackson, Miss., or in rural districts, the traveler finds scores of men and women of education, character, and culture who have been prepared in these schools and colleges for service as teachers, ministers of the gospel, doctors, dentists, lawyers, editors, and business men. Inquiry among their neighbors about these men and women —especially such white neighbors as have taken time and pains to know them—will bring words of commendation.

Typical pioneers in race relations. Into a rural school of a Virginia county entered a plain, little dark Negro woman, sent out from one of the schools founded by missionary zeal. She began lovingly to visit between school hours the homes of the people and then to adapt the teaching of the children who came from these homes so that they might apply the knowledge she sought to give them at school to their daily lives around their country homes. Her work caught the eye and the approval of the young white county school superintendent. He encouraged her, studied the results of her work, and soon sent her about his district to instruct other teachers. The state of Virginia and the Jeanes Foundation then became interested. The same experiment was then tried elsewhere—in North Carolina, in Alabama, and in other states—with the result that to-day all the Southern states have state supervisors of Negro rural schools and many "traveling teachers" going over their counties to do work similar to that which one Negro woman in Virginia demonstrated.

The story, however, is getting somewhat ahead of itself. The pioneer missionary institutes and colleges in sending out educated leaders to schools, churches, and communities made a profound impression on that part of the white world which did not believe that the freed slave could learn and develop into a full-fledged man.

Once this disbelief began to be dispelled, the movement for general Negro education made faster headway. The work drew the interest of the dean of an aristocratic white university, who resigned to become the head, first of one then of two funds for the promotion of Negro education. He is a wise man in his generation. These funds have been carefully distributed in two directions: (1) Many of the struggling institutions for the better training of teachers and leaders have been helped from year to year, and (2) rural schools have been helped both toward gaining better support from public funds and toward better standards of teaching. Through the encouragement and support of the John F. Slater Fund, four county training-schools for better education of rural Negro teachers were started in as many counties in 1912. These schools plan to develop support from public funds and to raise the grade of teachers as rapidly as possible. To-day county training-schools have multiplied to the number of one hundred and fifty-seven, and some have become good county high schools.

When, in 1863, the emancipation of the Negroes was proclaimed, among the white students in a missionary seminary at Rockford, Ill., was a young white woman of about thirty, Miss Joanna P. Moore, who was preparing to go as a missionary to China or India or, perhaps, to Africa. In February of that year a call came from Island Number Ten in the Mississippi River for a woman to work among the Negro refugee mothers and children. Miss Moore responded and began the mission of love and service to the Negro working people in their homes and churches and schools. She was practically without salary, she lived on "government rations," and was shunned by local white people. During succeeding years she visited the homes of the lowly in Arkansas,

Mississippi, Louisiana, and other states, helping families to find lost members, teaching cleanliness in person and heart, and leading the people to learn and love the Bible. In 1884 Miss Moore started a "Bible Band" and "Fireside School" movement, a system of home religious instruction and cheer for mothers and families, by means of a little magazine called *Hope,* that grew to have a circulation of thousands.[1] Before her passing away in 1916, her work had developed a staff of devoted Negro women who follow in her footsteps.

A young clergyman, graduate of Oberlin college and seminary, left his wife and young child to become a Union army chaplain the second year of the Civil War. He was in the battles of Franklin and Nashville. At the latter place, after the war closed, in abandoned hospital barracks turned over by General Fisk, the young clergyman started a school for the hundreds of freedmen who flocked to this army post. After planting several similar institutions for a Northern missionary society, he returned to be the president of the one at Nashville. For nearly forty years, in the face of ostracism, misunderstanding and prejudice, this pioneer laid the foundations deep and broad for one of the leading Negro colleges, now known throughout the world because it has fostered Negro music and the most liberal culture.

A young white Southern college graduate accepted a call in the early seventies to start a school for Negroes in a small Georgia city. In the face of the belief on the part of many white people that Negro boys and girls could not learn, and suffering even insult and desertion from white relatives and friends, including his fiancée, he opened the school upstairs over a grocery store.

[1] Account drawn mainly from Brawley, B. G., *Social History of the American Negro,* pp. 281-86.

Later he moved it to a run-down estate in the suburbs and developed it year by year, winning support from his own church and from individual friends, until a good normal school course and the first years of college instruction were supplied to the many students who attended. Throughout a long life, George Williams Walker lived and labored in Christian love for the Negro people. He had the joy of seeing some of his pupils win national recognition for their achievements and service.

In the late eighties, after clashes between the races in Lowndes County, Alabama, two white women, one from Massachusetts and one from Connecticut, came in response to a Macedonian call and started a rural school about three miles from the railroad station and adjoining large plantations. Thirty years have passed. People, white and Negro, have changed; likewise, conditions. Negro men and women now help conduct the school which has grown to require a faculty of a score. One of the plantations has been divided into small farms. These have been bought on the installment plan by Negro tenants, with the assistance of the former owner. A second and larger plantation is now going through the same process. Throughout the county many black peasant farm homes have been improved, churches have been built or remodeled, roads improved, and the standards of district schools have been raised. A local white doctor, a close critic, admits that the morals of the people have been greatly improved. There has not been another "race war."

In 1912 a young white Southern clergyman from Vanderbilt University, as a part of his work in Nashville, Tenn., began to inquire into the condition of Negroes. Associated with him were several white women who felt that the love of God and man which impelled their church

to send missionaries to Africa beyond the seas should also be applied to the descendants of Africa in their own town. For eight years they developed a social service movement which, not only helped the needy Negroes who came within their influence, but created a new atmosphere in race relations in Nashville and elsewhere. Later, that young clergyman was transferred to Atlanta. When the exciting and fearful days came with the return of the Negro soldiers from France, he was among the few far-seeing white men who came together and invited Negro leaders to meet with them to try whatever might be done to help common-sense, tolerance, appreciation of the Negro and justice to him to prevail over prejudiced propaganda and unfounded fears. The result was a series of interracial committees to promote coöperative activities that have prevented friction, counteracted inflammatory propaganda, and promoted constructive efforts for mutual welfare.

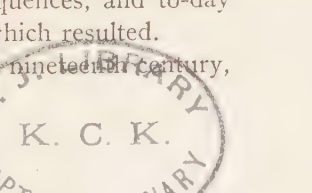
The missionary schools and colleges, the self-sacrificing men and women who offer service to their needy dark-skinned fellow-men, the interracial committees, and coöperation of white and Negro leaders are all parts of renewed efforts to make race adjustments on the basis of brotherhood rather than by brutal force. These efforts are based upon the conviction that good instincts, impulses, and feelings exist in men of all races and can be aroused and used to advance the welfare of all wherever races touch hands and the weaker may suffer or may be in need.

Two methods of race adjustment. Generally prevailing opinion has regarded the conflict of interests of classes, nations, and races as due solely to the personal faults or human depravity of the opponents. Such belief in depraved human nature led logically to the idea

and habit of using physical force where interests differed or views crossed. By blows of weapons or by hunger produced from withholding supplies, obstreperous individuals or groups were compelled to change their conduct to suit their opponents, or they were killed and put out of the running altogether. In our day, a more humane idea has gradually modified our view of human depravity. We have come to see that, to a large extent, previous experiences and present conditions breed the feelings, attitudes, and habits of action of the individuals of the community.

Past action of individuals who sought individual gain and advantage has often entailed harmful consequences and hostile attitudes in whole communities. Many persons and families caught in the net of resulting habits are prevented from developing better customs. This is illustrated in American history. The early settlers wanted cheap labor. They imported Africans when indentured servants from Europe could no longer meet their requirements and when Indians succumbed to disease or massacred their masters. They had little, if any, of Jefferson's vision and anxiety for their country when the issue between freedom and slavery could no longer be postponed. The idealist who took the long view of the general welfare and who opposed the system as contrary to the best interests of all, especially after the invention of the cotton gin had made cotton the king, was a voice crying in the wilderness. The multitudes heard, but heeded not. The advantages from exploited labor soothed the qualms of conscience and blurred the vision for the coming days of reckoning. Many individuals and families suffered the consequences, and to-day we are wrestling with the problems which resulted.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, early in the nineteenth century,



appealed to the people of America for a peaceful settlement of the slavery issue through the purchase and setting free of the slaves. Benjamin Lunday of Baltimore proposed a system of gradual emancipation as a means of peaceful settlement and a remedy for the evils of the system. The theory of settlement by conflict, however, gained headway. The clash and turmoil of war followed. Nearly a million lives and many billions of dollars, including pensions now being paid, were consumed. Delicate and difficult problems for which the present generation is still seeking a remedy have come down the years as a result of the appeal to force to settle these differences of views and of interests.

Conditions surrounding America's choice. Again, after sixty years, America has come to a place of choice between coöperation, for the general welfare and permanent progress, and conflict that may give temporary relief. The nation has an opportunity to demonstrate practically that race relations in community life can be thoroughly settled through understanding, justice, and goodwill. The contacts, or lack of them, between Negro and white citizens, North and South, furnish the concrete conditions which make our choices definite and clothe our contributions to world problems of the color line in flesh and blood and personality.

Among the many historical elements that have lingered from the past and those that confront us now, the following are of prime importance to a present-day consideration of racial relations.

First, the slave was emancipated and started on the road to freedom.

Second, the master was liberated and given an opportunity to become an employer of free labor.

Third, the slave plantation crumbled. The tenant plan-

tation with its share croppers, its cash renters, its share-cash tenants, and its large number of day laborers—"farm hands"—has replaced the older system. The struggling Negro farm owner has appeared and made remarkable advancement both in landholding and in methods of farming.

Fourth, the movement of white people and Negroes to urban centers has developed and increased. Large town and city Negro populations dependent upon labor by the day, week, or month grow steadily.

Fifth, the relations between white and Negro races began to undergo changes, especially in three aspects: (a) The older generation for the most part retained the mental attitude growing out of the relations of the past. In the South to-day many individual Negroes put their trust in their "white folks" as in no others. These white people in turn believe in and have regard for "their Negroes" as for no others. (b) A generation of Negroes who know not slavery has grown up with an increasing race consciousness and aspiration for American opportunities. (c) The descendents of the non-slave-holding white people now make up the majority of the population of the Southern states and have come into power of two kinds: they have acquired a large share in the increasing industrial occupations and a large voice in civic and political matters.

Sixth, with the race consciousness of the Negro gradually rising like the tides of the sea, has come a restlessness under the existing restrictions, limitations, and racial discriminations.

Seventh, the races have been drawing apart: a cleavage from the cradle to the grave. Separate neighborhoods in cities and impersonal relations on large plantations and in large industrial operations where both races are em-

ployed are only the larger outlines of a more detailed segregation that ramifies in many directions. In city and in country communities, Negroes and white people attend different churches. In the last fifty years, Negroes have built up national and international church organizations managed and controlled by Negroes. Separation in schools, public and private, except in most Northern states, is well-nigh universal. There have grown up the mission colleges and secondary schools for the Negro youth, fostered by the Church educational and home mission boards. In the Southern states, on all railroad trains there are separate cars or compartments in cars for white and colored passengers. State laws or local ordinances require separation regulations on street-cars. The old feeling of dependence of man upon master is rapidly disappearing on the Negro side, and the old feeling of paternal protectiveness is disappearing on the white side of the line. Many white people and Negro people, especially women and children, spend weeks, months, and even years without any personal contact with those of the opposite race. In many places Negroes are buried in separate cemeteries.

The changed situation and the resulting feelings, attitudes, and habits were very concretely set forth in statements made by a Negro man and a white man in Mississippi.[1] The Negro was a man of mixed blood, a country preacher, and he gave this account of the change as illustrated in the three generations of his own family: "My father was born and brought up as a slave. He never knew anything else until after I was born. He was taught his place and was content to keep it. But when he brought me up, he let some of the old customs slip

[1] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Negro Migration in 1916-17*, pp. 33-34, report of R. H. Leavel, "The Negro Migration from Mississippi."

by. I know there are certain things that I must do, and I do them, and it doesn't worry me; yet in bringing up my own son, I let some more of the old customs slip by. He has been through the eighth grade; he reads easily. For a year I have been keeping him from going to Chicago; but he tells me this is his last crop, that in the fall he's going. He says: 'When a young white man talks rough to me, I can't talk rough to him. You can stand that; I can't. I have some education, and inside I have the feelin's of a . . . man. I'm going.'"

Compare this account with that given by the white man, a leading political thinker in Mississippi, of the changed attitude in three generations of his own family: "My father owned slaves. He looked out for them; told them what to do. He loved them, and they loved him. I was brought up during and after the Civil War. I had a 'black mammy' and she was devoted to me and I to her; and I played with Negro children. In a way I'm fond of the Negro; I understand him, and he understands me; but the bond between us is not as close as it was between my father and his slaves. On the other hand, my children have grown up without black playmates and without a 'black mammy.' The attitude of my children is less sympathetic toward Negroes than my own. *They don't know each other.*"

One writer has called public opinion "one of the lieutenants of God." There is a white world of opinion concerning the Negro and how he should be treated. There is a Negro world of public opinion about itself, about white people, and about how Negroes should act toward them. A look into those two worlds briefly will serve as an introduction to the treatment of the subject.

White and Negro public opinion. The white world of opinion in America still believes in the inferior ca-

pacity of the Negro and has a very limited knowledge of Negro progress. This estimate was made a generation or two ago. Probably the exhibitions of physical prowess by the Negro soldiers, Negro athletes, and Negro laborers, and the Negro's ability to sustain himself as a free man have dispelled some of the belief in physical inferiority so long avowed in books and newspapers. There still remains, however, the notion that the Negro is of a lower order of the human species, that in mental capacity and moral qualities he is inherently inferior, and that there is a chasm so fixed as to constitute a "fundamental and inescapable difference" which may prevent the Negro from achieving the highest in modern civilization.[1] The theory prevails that such achievements in pure science, art, literature, social ideals, and the like are beyond the present capacity of the Negro. This view of Negro incapacity is usually buttressed by appeals to history to show that the Negro achieved nothing in Africa, by efforts at scientific proof of inferior physical features, skull form and brain structure, and recently by use of comparative mental tests. This question will be treated in later pages (Chapter V and Appendix). Here the purpose is only to state the prevailing opinion of the white world.

The white world as a whole has the view also that the Negro is predominantly criminal and in other ways inherently defective and delinquent to a greater degree than other elements of our population. This popular notion lies back of the usual setting of news by the greater part of the press, which presents its reports and stories in line with what some call the "conventional opinion."

[1] Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, pp. 29-74. Page, Thomas Nelson, *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem*, pp. 277-280. Morse, John T., Jr., *Thomas Jefferson*, p. 53.

That there are criminal Negroes apprehended in probably larger proportions than white, is true. The point is not to argue these questions of fact, but to record the known current of opinion which generalizes wholesale on the few facts and regards a whole race as peculiarly delinquent.

Modifying to some extent the two preceding currents of opinion is the American use of free speech and response to the facts when disclosed. With increasing assurance, thoughtful Negroes and their friends have used the American tradition of free speech to put their case before the tribunal of the American public. As a rule, when the facts have been ably given publicity, the American people have responded with a measure of fair play. Abraham Lincoln knew this through all his work for the Union and the Negro. Every successful effort for Negro advancement and better race relations has consciously or unconsciously utilized this response of white public opinion.

Public opinion of the Negro world [1] during the present generation has crystallized a belief among Negroes that the race has something to be proud of; that Negro culture and achievement are substantial and worth while. There is a growing Negro race pride. They have tried to make this known to the world. Probably another significant manifestation of this opinion is its interpretation of expressions from white newspapers. For example,

[1] The use of "Negro" as a race designation is to take both terms in their conventional, popular meaning. The terms are not used in an ethnological sense based upon complexions, hair forms, or head forms or upon cultural types, because all forms are found in the group and because in language, literature, art, religion, industry, and other items, Negroes have very largely appropriated and assimilated the culture around them. They have, however, developed a solidarity and race consciousness which make a group life and a Negro world of feeling, thought, and attitude.

reports in white newspapers of racial clashes are regarded by Negroes as prepared to excuse the white participants and to blame the black ones.

There may be discerned three shades or schools of opinion among Negroes with reference to achievement of their rights and with reference to their relations to their white neighbors. In European terms they may be called "the left wing," "the center," and "the right wing." The left wing is of recent development. It has two divisions. There is first a socialist group which is just beginning, since the World War, to secure recruits among Negroes.[1] There is considerable evidence that it is being fostered by white socialists. The chief organ of propaganda is *The Messenger,* a monthly magazine published in New York and ably edited by two young, college-bred Negro men. They have utilized the dissatisfaction which Negroes have felt because of the evils of lynching, mob violence, disfranchisement, and other things about which the race has been restless. Probably from a fourth to a third of their magazine has been given to reports and editorials on such ills. Their propaganda has served to draw strength from such publicity about ills more than from the intellectual or emotional interest any considerable number of Negroes have in the more general matters of social and economic reconstruction.

Furthermore, a new division has sprung up in the "left wing." It is popularly known as the "Garvey Movement," from the name of Marcus Garvey, its West Indian founder. This is an organized movement, claiming in 1921 from two to three millions of dues-paying members in divisions, branches, and chapters of a "Universal

[1] Since this was written, an attack upon the Negro Church and upon other Negro leaders has seemed to weaken greatly the influence of their published organ and their speakers.

Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League." Such divisions are advertised in the United States, Canada, Central America, South America, the West Indies, and in Africa. The "Garveyites" have a newspaper, *The Negro World,* with substantial circulation in all these parts of the world. A traveler just returned from a year's extensive tour of Africa reported that Garvey and his propaganda were known to the natives wherever he went.

The two ideas this movement is propagating are "Africa for Africans" and the securing of recognition and fair treatment of black people everywhere by organizing the economic, political, intellectual, and moral force of Negroes the world over into a sort of provisional African empire to force recognition from the white world. Business enterprises, a "Black Star Line" to run steamships to regions populated by Negroes, and industrial corporations, are parts of the plans that have drawn during a four-year development about a million dollars from trusting Negroes, to be wasted by visionary and impractical ones.[1] The leaders raised in one year over $200,000 for a Liberian Construction Loan and launched in August, 1921, an additional "African Redemption Fund." The "Garvey Movement" may fail because of bad management, but the ideas which it is propagating have profoundly influenced the thinking and feeling of Negroes in all parts of the United States, to say nothing of other parts of the world.

The second school of Negro public opinion, "the center," is composed of those who might be designated as the spiritual descendants of the aggressive abolitionists

[1] It is reported that Garvey and some of his associates have been indicted recently by a Federal Grand Jury in New York on charges of using the mails to defraud investors in the Black Star Line enterprise.

of a previous generation. They are actively and hotly protesting and agitating against all forms of color discriminations and injustices. Their slogan for years has been to fight and continue to fight for citizenship rights and full democratic privileges of American life. This school comprises several more or less independent groups. The principal one is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Its official organ, *The Crisis,* is the leading and best edited Negro magazine in the world. The Association undoubtedly has the hearty endorsement of the largest number of intelligent Negroes of America that know about it. Its 80,000 members are scattered throughout forty-six states. The Association includes in its membership many white people of prominence. Its annual conventions have presented upon their programs many of America's foremost speakers, publicists, and humanitarians. They have fostered the Pan-African Congress which is agitating for self-determination of African natives.

The third school, "the right wing," believes in full justice, manhood rights, and opportunities for Negroes, but still clings to methods of conciliation and the preaching of coöperation and turns a deaf ear to militant methods of agitation. There is apparently no organization representing this school, but many informal groups and Negro agencies have such an attitude. The ablest advocates of this school have centered at Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes. As a matter of fact, the objectives of "the center" and "the right wing" do not differ. The difference comes only in method and strategy. The two schools are seeking the same city of American opportunity, but each is undertaking to reach it by somewhat divergent roads.

Those of the third school are having difficulty, how-

ever, to hold their influence with the masses of Negroes, not only because of the pressure from the other two wings, but more especially because of the tardy response of the white world in removing some of the outstanding ills and allowing Negroes to share in those advantages which make the name of America a synonym for opportunity.

A close observation of opinion among all classes of Negroes discloses a slowly increasing spirit of resistance to injustice and mistreatment. The following are some concrete illustrations from statements of Negroes: In 1919, at the time of the Washington (D. C.) riot, "a most reliable Negro, a man of the rank and file of workers, said: 'During the riot I went home when through with my work and stayed there, but I prepared to protect my home. If a Negro had nothing but a fire poker when set upon, he should use it to protect his home. I believe all the men in my block felt the same way. I know they stayed 'round home more than usual.' Another Negro, a porter, said: 'We are tired of bein' picked on and bein' beat up. We have been through the War and given everything, even our lives, and now we are going to stop bein' beat up.' A third, commenting on the Chicago riot, said: 'These things (meaning riots) will keep on until we peaceable, law-abiding fellows will have nothing to do but to prepare to defend our lives and families.' A Negro teacher said, 'The accumulated sentiment against injustice to colored people is such that they will not be abused any longer.' " [1] Even Negro graduate students are beginning academic analysis of these new currents of thought.[2]

[1] "What Negroes Think of the Race Riots," George E. Haynes, *The Public*, Aug. 9, 1919.

[2] Edward Franklin Frazier, a graduate of Howard University and a former teacher at Tuskegee Institute, submitted as his

The task in racial relations. These two worlds of opinion outlined in the preceding paragraphs have grown up as the two races have developed life more and more separately. They do not now know each other, as in the past. Here, then, is the task in racial relations: to find ways through which the present and future generations of the two races may know each other as friends and work out their problems together as American citizens. The old relations of master and man, mistress and maid are gone, never to return. The memories of "Marse Clair," of "Miss Eva," and "Uncle Tom," and the "black Mammy" remain as the recollections of sweet but bygone days.[1] In these new times of stress and strain; the grandchildren of these cherished ancestors of both races have a challenge to find that gentleness and tenderness of heart and strength of mind which will enable them to correct the hostile feelings, attitudes, and customs growing out of past mistakes and present evils and to build up friendly relations.

The crucial question is, Will the Negro, growing in population, be enabled and permitted to stand upon his feet as a man and to take a citizen's place in the onward marching army of American life at the same time that his white neighbor increases in numbers and advances in the ranks of progress? As indicated above, there are two points of view, either of which may gain headway. White Americans number about ninety millions, Negro Americans, about ten millions; we face a crucial racial situation. Shall mutual misunderstanding, suspicions, and friction

M.A. thesis at Clark University an unpublished manuscript on "New Currents of Thought Among the Colored People of America." It gives an appreciation of what is termed in this text the "left wing" of Negro opinion. He concludes that "America faces a new race that has awakened."

[1] See Thomas Nelson Page, work cited, pp. 163-165, 173-204.

continue, growing more and more acute? Or shall mutual understanding, tolerance, and good-will replace them? Shall common sense or brutal force prevail?

The machinery of government and law can do a great deal. Attitudes and the habits of thought and action of both individuals and groups, however, lie back of government and control the machinery of the law. While regularly looking to the law, therefore, the two races have to establish those relations which crystallize into law and which make customs and governments. Many individuals of a national or racial group, as they have struggled with nature or among themselves, have chosen ways of acting in the face of their surroundings which they have found to result in pleasurable experiences. They have avoided or tried to avoid ways of acting which would lead to painful or unsatisfactory experiences. The former become approved as the right ways to act, and the latter are disapproved as the wrong ways to act, and out of these approvals and disapprovals grow up group attitudes, laws, and customs of conduct. The approved and disapproved ways of acting become fixed as conventional "public opinion,"—"folkways" and *"mores,"* if you please,—some helpful, and some harmful. The mental background of the individuals is made up of such ideas from which each new situation is met and handled.[1] These attitudes and customs are spread from community to community and from one generation to another. The opportunity, then, that individuals and groups and races have to learn to avoid the ways, attitudes, and feelings that have proven harmful and to cultivate those that have proven truly pleasurable and helpful, will largely determine their abil-

[1] For the theory of folkways and *mores*, see *Societal Evolution*, A. G. Keller, pp. 30-38; for the idea of milieu see *Race Prejudice*, Jean Finot, pp. 129-132, 172-175.

ity to meet the demands of modern life. These experiences from the past might be called the mental property of the nation. To find ways and means for both races to share in this mental property so that better feelings, attitudes, and ways of acting under present conditions may become the approved ways, is the problem of promoting better racial relations. The people must learn good-will, tolerance, justice, and coöperation by such means when the sky is clear, or they will find it too late when the lightning of mobs and lynching flashes and the thunder of riot rolls. In the past, the white man has helped the Negro survive and develop in America, and the Negro has largely thought of his development for the white man's use. A fear has come to the white man that painful experience may come to him when the Negro is no longer to be merely a servant, and this is tending to increase friction between the races. Humanitarian and Christian forces have the task of teaching that the fear is unfounded and that the white people and the Negro people can and should work together for mutual advancement.

This great task is intertwined in the many problems of the so-called "race problem." They may be summarized as the problems of Negro progress—economic, educational, social, and religious, the problems of Negro citizenship, and the problem of attitudes and habitual action of the white world. These fundamental problems lie back of and produce that public opinion of the two groups, briefly described in this chapter. The question of Negro progress is dealt with in Chapter II, followed by a discussion in Chapter III of the Negro's capacity for achievement as further shown by his internal response to the world without him. The problems of Negro citizenship are taken up in Chapter IV from the standpoint

of the Negro's devotion to and sacrifice for the Stars and Stripes, the symbol of the common man's opportunity to determine his governors. The problem of the attitude and habitual action of the white world is treated in Chapter V. The closing chapter undertakes to analyze the fundamental principles and ideals which underlie the theory that coöperation rather than conflict should determine race relations of the future. In this chapter, also, the attempt is made to point out the principal organizations and institutions, the home, the school, the state, the church, and auxiliary organizations, besides the economic institutions, through which the friendly and pleasurable contacts of the two races are to be made.

Through all the chapters and implicit in every section of this book is the theme that the relations of the two races finally rest, not upon wealth or poverty, not upon things or lack of them, but upon the mental, social, and spiritual attitudes and habits of conduct of life that grow out of the feeling experiences of the two races as they have contact in agriculture, industry, education, government, religion, and the like. The great hope of the future is that the ideals of Jesus may determine the conditions of these experiences and the conditions of these contacts.

The new world problems are problems of the color line. Peoples and races are struggling in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas to-day to find peaceful relations. The ups and downs of their struggles are before us as we watch the dealings of the strong with the weak, the wealthy with the poor, the white with the black the world over. Everywhere, white and black, yellow and brown are seeking happiness which all crave. All these peoples are weary from the tumult and the shouting of the last and greatest of wars and long for peace and prosperity and perhaps a warless world. As with other questions,

so with this, the means of getting what they want in America, at least, may be close at hand if they open their eyes and see them. Concrete demonstration in many localities in our country where white and Negro Americans reside that two races can live peaceably together and develop may be one of the greatest contributions we can make to the world problems of color.

CHAPTER II

Sixty Years of Progress

Viscount Bryce is reported to have said that the American Negro in the first thirty years of his liberation made greater advance than was ever made by the Anglo-Saxon in a similar period. Twice thirty years have now passed, producing rapid changes in Negro life. It is fitting to inquire into the signs of that progress. The progress of a people cannot be set down in figures. We may reckon their wealth, but we cannot measure the struggles that secured their possessions. As one counts their schoolhouses and the children who go into them, as one works out the percentages of illiteracy and considers their alertness in learning to read, to write, and to figure, he may remember that these are only a part of their struggles upward from the dark caverns of ignorance. Counting the offices they hold, the votes they cast, and the participation they take in civic affairs is a very meager means of reckoning their progress in the habits of self-government. It is also impossible to picture the development from slave cabins to homes and families of culture and refinement.

These are positive signs, however, of the onward march of a people struggling up from serfdom towards freedom, from ignorance towards intelligence, from poverty towards competence, and from degradation towards the place where one of the world's great statesmen acknowledges that the rapidity of their progress has outstripped that of his own people. The circumstances have, of course, been unique. Negroes have lived among most aggressive and progressive neighbors. The strongest political power was thrown into the scales to raise them

from the status of slaves to that of legal freedmen. As Negroes had been the main labor dependence of the South, when slave labor was no longer legal, their labor was then in demand on a wage basis. It is true that the wages were often meager, and the conditions of life on the plantation were sometimes little removed from previous conditions. It cannot be denied, furthermore, that the freedmen were shut out from many of the higher avenues of employment and that discriminations of many kinds were practiced against them. But ere the smoke of the Civil War had cleared away, missionary teachers, evangels they were, opened schoolhouses and set before the freedmen, not only the rudiments of knowledge, but examples of clean living, high thinking, and brotherly coöperation. There is no brighter page in the history of Christian missions than the work and devotion of these teachers.

But no matter what the surroundings were or what encouragement they have had, unless there had been inherent in the Negro people large capacities, unbounded aspirations and a willingness to work, there never would have been such progress in sixty years. Starting as they did with meager resources in wealth and in intelligence, they entered the paths of freedom with their faces set toward the rising sun of progress and their hearts singing hopeful songs of reward. To paraphrase what Frederick Douglass once said of himself, Negroes should be considered, not by the heights they have reached, but by the depths from which they have come.

Progress in economic relations. In support of the statement that the Negroes are a wage-earning people, four important facts meet us at the threshold:

(1) In 1910 there were 71 per cent of Negroes in the United States and 87.6 per cent of those in the South

ten years of age and over gainfully employed. Many married women were helping to earn the daily bread for the family. The percentage of Negro married women gainfully employed was about three times as large as the percentage of white women so employed. At that time Negroes constituted about one seventh of the total working population in the United States.

(2) Nearly all of these Negro wage-earners were employed by white people. Furthermore, in both agriculture and industry these Negro workers were engaged in the same occupations, often on the same jobs, as white workers.

(3) While the overwhelming majority of Negro workers to-day are in the unskilled, lower paid, industrial occupations, in domestic and personal service, or in agriculture, they have shown marked increase in industrial occupations, in distinction from the agricultural, and from domestic and personal service. In manufacturing and mechanical pursuits in the 20 years between 1890 and 1910, Negroes increased about 165.3 per cent. In trade and transportation during the same period, they increased about 129.5 per cent.

The proportion of Negro male persons engaged in agriculture remained practically the same between 1890 and 1910. Negro female persons engaged in agriculture increased from about one sixth to nearly one third of those gainfully employed. The gain for both sexes was about 66.6 per cent in 20 years, between 1890 and 1910. In domestic and personal service the gain was about 65 per cent in 20 years, between 1890 and 1910.

In short, during the twenty years ending in 1910 Negro workers showed a very slow increase in domestic and personal service, a slightly higher increase in agriculture, a still higher increase in trade and transporta-

tion, and the highest increase in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. These figures cover a period preceding the World War and the heavy Negro migration North. The greatest increase of Negroes in industrial occupations has taken place since, as a consequence of the high wages during the World War and the demand for their labor, so that there are probably larger numbers in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits than shown by the available figures up to 1910.

(4) Previous to the World War and the entrance of Negroes in large numbers, mainly migrants from the South, into Northern industrial plants, many local unions of white workmen, except in a few localities like New Orleans, La., Birmingham, Ala., and Chicago, Ill., either excluded Negroes from their organizations or did not encourage their joining, even in the face of their national constitutions and the liberal statements of policy by the American Federation of Labor.

Development in industrial relations. The first field of occupations in historical importance is employment in Southern agriculture, principally in the raising of cotton, of corn, of sugar-cane, and of tobacco.

The second field is in Southern industry which has grown by leaps and bounds since 1880.[1] Southern railroads, mills (except cotton mills), mines, and other industries are mainly supplied by Negro workers. The railroads of the South have Negro section gangs, station and terminal employees, Negro firemen, train porters, Pullman porters, and dining-car waiters. The coal and iron mines of the district centering at Birmingham, Ala., would stop at least for a time if deprived of their Negro

[1] Haynes, George E., *The Negro at Work in New York City*, pp. 19-23; also Murphy, Edward G., *Problems of the Present South*, pp. 97-125.

laborers. Steel mills, iron foundries, shipyards, sawmills and lumber camps, cotton compresses and oil mills of the South look upon Negro brawn and sometimes the brain as their mainstay.

The third large field of Negro labor, Northern industry, has undergone a great change during the past ten years. In 1910 the overwhelming majority of Negro wage earners in Northern industrial centers were restricted to personal and domestic service occupations. In a study of the "Negro at Work in New York City" in 1908-1910 [1] it was found that about 70 per cent of Negro men and about 89 per cent of Negro women gainfully employed were working as elevator operators, porters, janitors, general houseworkers, cooks, maids, and as other domestic and personal servants. Such occupations for women as pressers, bushelers, and operators of power machines in clothing factories, and such, among men, as carpenters, bricklayers, and other workers in the erection of buildings were almost completely closed to Negroes. The World War brought a great change in this respect.

The tide of European immigrants who formerly supplied a large part of the unskilled and semiskilled labor during the War ceased to flow because many workers were called to the defense of their native lands. The captains of Northern industry looked South and beheld a surplus of Negro workers.[2] Besides the normal excess of workers in proportion to jobs, thousands were un-

[1] Haynes, G. E., work cited, pp. 72-77.

[2] For a full discussion of Negro migration, see United States Department of Labor report, *Negro Migration in 1916-17*, made from investigations on the ground in several states by R. H. Leavel, T. R. Snanely, T. J. Woofter, Jr., W. T. B. Williams, and Francis D. Tyson. See also articles by G. E. Haynes in *Survey* for Jan. 4 and May 4, 1918. Also "The Negro Migration of 1916-1918" by Henderson H. Donald, in *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 383-485.

employed in 1915 because of floods and droughts in several farming districts, because of the drop in cotton prices, and because of the depression in many Southern industries. Agents of industrial plants and railroads—the Pennsylvania, the Erie, the New York Central, and other railroads—went South to solicit laborers. The Negroes responded by the thousands. Census figures for 1920 show a net gain in the North and West of about 400,000 over 1910.

At the meeting of the Home Missions Council[1] in January, 1918, an official of the New York Central Railroad told his experiences in bringing Negro workers from the South:

"The early summer of 1916 the Chief Engineer found that the road was short five hundred track laborers and had been for two months. He called on me to study the matter and answer two questions: (1) Why can we not get men this year as in former years for our track work? (2) What must I do to get five hundred more men on our track at once?

"For a good many years we had been employing foreigners who had quite recently come from the south of Europe. Our track supervisors had generally a poor opinion of the American hobo. We had never used any Mexicans, Negroes, Japanese, or Chinese. I found out soon that our best city from which to secure these foreigners from the south of Europe was Chicago. I placed an order there with three of our most reliable labor agencies for fifty men each. They got for us but fifteen men in all in two weeks. I also visited Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. I got reliable knowledge of the labor situation in Buffalo, Detroit, Kansas City, and Cairo.

"I then reported to the Chief Engineer as follows: 'You cannot get men this year as in former years because the kind of men you have hired heretofore have

[1] See Annual Report.

gone back to fight the battles of their mother countries in Europe. You are running your head against a stone wall. You must go where men can be hired in order to get five hundred men at once. There are two such places. One is the Pacific Coast, where American-born white men are now looking for work. But it is far to go. The other place is at the Ohio River and south of it. But in that southland the common laborer is the Negro. You have never had Negro labor on the tracks. Our foremen do not know how to handle Negroes. There are possible race problems. Do you want Negroes?' . . .

"In a few days he said to me: 'Go and get the Negroes.' We got five hundred Negroes on our track within thirty days. We continued in 1916 until we had brought fifteen hundred Negroes. We housed them in temporary houses, in the main. Some were in camp cars.

"No complaint of thieving or disorder or any misconduct was ever made by the citizens on our lines. The Negro was more orderly than the hobo or the Italian. He was cleaner than the Greek or Austrian. One of our veteran supervisors of track said: 'The Negro eats—the Italian does not. The Negro is big, he is good natured, and he speaks my language. I can get along with him.' At the close of the working season I asked the Chief Engineer how we had got along with Negro labor. He replied: 'How could we have got along without it?' . . .

"The Negro is a gang worker. He is not a soloist. He is superstitious, lacks initiative, and, taken alone, is scared even of the dark. He is not a man for work requiring risk. He is strong, reliable, peaceable, American, for he came here with us and has been copying us ever since. The black man wants work at better pay. He is quite moral, very religious, and several times more an American than the other laborer with whom he has come here to enter into competition. He is a hopeful, industrial asset, not a menace, no anarchist, no plotter."

There were four classes of Negro migrants. The *first* was composed of the floating Negro casual laborers largely produced by the past system of economy under

which they have worked and lived. The *second,* the majority, were the thrifty, middle-class, honest, hard-working, semiskilled, and unskilled workers who sought better wages, better conditions of labor, and better living conditions. The *third* class comprised a considerable number of skilled artisans such as carpenters, brick masons, and tailors. These three classes were accompanied and followed by a *fourth* class, a number of enterprising Negro business men, such as small retail shopkeepers, insurance agents and solicitors, and a number of professional men—doctors, lawyers, and ministers. The wives and children, aunts, uncles, cousins, and other members of families completed the number that made up nearly half a million or so migrants who moved North between 1915 and 1920.

The effect on the South of this wholesale movement of Negroes was widespread. A shortage of labor both in agriculture and industry was created. Wages were increased to unprecedented levels. Treatment of the workers and plantation tenants improved. City councils, chambers of commerce, and business men's organizations, county officials, and even state officials and legislatures took steps to meet the situation. Some repressive measures were attempted to stop the movement in different places, but, for the most part, the migrants moved as they were inclined.[1] Humanitarian, religious, and economic motives began to run in the same direction. Social agencies found the business interests now actively concerned in plans for better schools, better housing, more nearly even-handed justice in the courts, and other improvements.

The effect in the North was also far-reaching. For

[1] Donald, Henderson H., work cited, pp. 425-431.

example, the Negro population of Chicago more than doubled, increasing 148 per cent between 1910 and 1920; that of Detroit increased from about 6,000 to more than 30,000 in four years, that of Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and New York increased from 50 to 70 per cent. Smaller cities and towns increased in similar proportion.

In six or eight of the basic industries in some of the Northern industrial cities, Negroes filled the gap in semi-skilled and unskilled labor. A partial investigation of the Department of Labor in 1919-20, the only data of its kind available, showed 4,260 white men and 2,222 Negro men engaged in 194 occupations in 23 establishments of the six basic industries; namely, foundries, slaughtering and meat-packing, automobiles, iron and steel and their products, and glass manufacturing. In the slaughtering and meat-packing plants of Chicago, where one Negro was employed in 1915, from four to five were employed in 1919-20. The foundries and hardware factories of Cleveland, Youngstown, and other Ohio centers either increased their Negro workers or employed Negroes for the first time. The steel mills in and around Pittsburgh rivaled in complexion those of Birmingham, Ala. In the six basic industries where Negroes were employed in considerable numbers, comparison with white workmen in the same establishments indicated that black men made a good record as to labor turnover, absenteeism, and quantity and quality of work done. It is no exaggeration to say that during the war the industrial plants that employed Negro workers for the first time were well pleased. These workers proved themselves adaptable, teachable, and able to get along in a very coöperative way with white fellow-workmen both North and South. Negro women entered the clothing

factories of New York by the hundreds. These are only some of the changed conditions that arose.

The progress of Negro farmers. Although many Negroes migrated North during the World War, yet the large majority are still in the South, and since the majority are engaged in agriculture, their farm operations are of prime importance in considering the changed conditions in race relations. In 1920 over 920,000 more farms were operated by Negroes than in 1860, and more than one third of them were owned in whole or in part by Negroes. In a single decade, 1900-1910, the number of Negro farm owners increased about 17 per cent. About three out of every four Negro farm operators in 1910 were tenants on rented land. The fourth operator was an owner or a part owner. Negro farm operators increased between 1900 and 1910 about 19.6 per cent, while the rate of increase of Negro population was 11.2 per cent. There was a slight decrease between 1910 and 1920 in the number of owners, doubtless due to migration and other changes during the War. There was, however, an increase of 3.1 per cent in Negro farm operators for the decade. White farm operators during the period 1900-1910 increased only 9.5 per cent in comparison with the increase of the white population of 22.3 per cent, and there was also a slight decrease in the number of white farm owners. For both races there was a marked increase of managing operators of farms. Negroes in 1920 owned a farm area about the size of New England, omitting Maine.[1] The average value of Negro farms increased from $669 in 1900 to $1,278 in 1910 or about 91 per cent.[2]

[1] Stokes, Anson Phelps, *Southern Workman*, March, 1922, pp. 114-116.

[2] These figures were furnished by Charles E. Hall, U. S. Census Bureau.

FARM INSTRUCTION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Negro farmers are [illegible] industrious, thrifty and thrifty. Demonstrations and farm instruction have played important parts in bringing about these improved economic conditions.

Growth of business enterprises. Next to the number of farms owned and operated, the operation of business enterprises is a clear sign of economic progress and prosperity.[1] In 1860 Negroes were estimated to have owned 2,100 business enterprises. In 1910 it was estimated that they operated 45,000 business enterprises and in 1020 more than 55,000 enterprises. A comparative enumeration in New York City showed that in 1908-09 there were less than 400 Negro business enterprises in the borough of Manhattan, ten of them being corporations. In 1921, there were probably more than 700 Negro enterprises in this borough, including more than 59 corporations.[2]

Many of these Negro enterprises are, of course, small one-man enterprises, but a few of them are corporations owning and controlling millions of dollars' worth of property. Life insurance companies, mainly industrial, and savings banks have been the outstanding, large business developments. It is estimated that the business of Negro insurance companies exceeds $60,000,000 with annual income of more than $6,000,000 and with disbursements of a like amount. The largest of the life insurance companies in 1920 reported more than $35,000,000 worth of insurance in force, and daily receipts exceeding $4,000 in 1919. This is the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, which was founded by John Merrick, a barber, Dr. A. M. Moore, a physician, and Charles C. Spaulding, who was the first business manager. The company began about twenty-five years ago on the industrial plan and paid its first death claim of $40 by making up the amount from the resources of its three

[1] *Negro Year-book*, edited by Monroe N. Work, p. 1.

[2] Data furnished partly by Trotter's *Negro Blue Book Directory of New York* and partly from investigations of the author.

officers. Its office at that time consisted of desk space at two dollars a month in a corner of the doctor's office.[1]

The second largest insurance company is the Standard Life Insurance Company. It is less than ten years old and has to-day outstanding policies of about $20,000,000 of insurance. Its development reads like a romance and represents the work largely of one man, Herman E. Perry. He first canvassed to raise $100,000 which was necessary in order to deposit required bonds with the Insurance Commissioner of Georgia. Perry failed to secure this amount in his first attempt, covering a period of about two years, and returned to the subscribers to the stock of the proposed company all the money which had been paid on deposit, less ten per cent for expenses, agreed upon in the original plans. Perry started immediately upon his second effort which took him two years more, and this time he secured the necessary $100,000. He began an old line legal reserve business in 1913. The company is now doing business in thirteen states and the District of Columbia.

Besides saving and investing in insurance companies, Negroes are actively interested in banks, in building and loan associations, grocery stores, clothing stores, drug stores, shoe stores, bakeries, steam-laundries, hotels, barber shops, tailor shops, pleasure parks, moving picture theaters, and many other lines of small business. There were 250 or more Negro newspapers and periodicals. A dozen of these have a wide national circulation from 10,000 to more than 75,000.

In 1920 there were listed 76 Negro banks with a reported capitalization exceeding $2,750,000 and doing an annual business of about $35,000,000. This is a very

[1] Andrews, Robert McCants, *John Merrick, a Biographical Sketch*, pp. 75-120.

small sum compared with even one of the nation's great banks and gives no account of money deposited by Negroes in banks organized by white men; but these small Negro institutions represent the strivings of the race. They are distributed from Philadelphia, Pa., to Jacksonville, Fla., and Memphis, Tenn. In Virginia there are fourteen Negro banks, in Georgia there are nine, and in North Carolina there are nine. None of them are national banks or large metropolitan banking institutions. They are small undertakings. But they represent the accumulated savings and thrift of thousands of Negro depositors and stockholders who have not only gathered their small savings together, but who have to this extent expressed their confidence in the financial leadership and management of men of their own race.

Progress in health. The progress of the Negro in health can barely be indicated from available figures of mortality or statistics of the defective classes. The registration area for mortality before 1900 embraced 10 states and 153 cities, practically all of which were outside of the territory where the bulk of the Negroes reside. "During the entire period 1900-1915," says the census report, "the great mass of the Negro population has been resident in the non-registration area. The proportion living in the registration area was 13.5 per cent in 1900, 19.7 per cent in 1910 and 30.4 per cent in 1915." The proportion of deaths of Negroes was about stationary during the first two of these five-year periods and showed slight increase during the last period. An estimate based on such incomplete mortality statistics for the Negro population as are available indicates that the aggregate decrease of numbers by death in the Negro population between 1900 and 1910 was about 16 per cent. For the native white population in the same period the

figure was 9.9 per cent. The annual average deaths per 1,000 population for the five-year periods, 1901-1905, 1906-1910 in 81 cities having at least ten per cent Negro population show a decreasing death-rate for both races, with a slightly larger decrease for the white population.

One of the most definite signs of progress in Negro health and sanitation is the growing number of hospitals, trained nurses, physicians, and surgeons within the race itself. In many of the city hospitals there is now provision for the care of Negro patients. In 25 states and the District of Columbia in 1920, there were reported 119 hospitals, nurses' training-schools, and sanitaria especially for Negroes, many of them conducted by Negroes. All except about ten of these are very poorly equipped and very inadequate in size to meet the needs of the communities they serve. They represent, however, a substantial advance. In 1910, there were 478 dentists, 26 of them women, 3,409 physicians and surgeons, 524 of them women, and 2,433 trained nurses. There is a National Negro Medical Association, having its own well-edited journal, and there are about 53 district, state, and local medical, dental, and pharmaceutical associations of Negroes. There is a National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses which meets annually and a struggling "Blue Circle" working along the lines similar to the Red Cross. Many of the professional men and women have received their training in missionary colleges and in the best institutions for professional study in the land and are highly appreciated by white fellow-members of their professions.

Progress in morals. In the matter of Negro crime there are several considerations in dealing with figures of arrests, commitments to prison, or other evidences of crime. It is a well-known fact that the Negro suffers

a large amount of injustice in the courts and that they suffer especially in those localities where the fee system is still used. Officers who make the arrests, the petty magistrates, and other officials get a portion of fines assessed. The temptation to make unwarranted arrests and unjustified convictions is obvious.

Illiteracy and poverty, greater among Negroes than among whites, and previous condition of servitude, with its degradation, are undoubtedly bearing fruit in delinquency and crime.

Public opinion also has had a great deal to do with Negro crime. The ordinary Negro has it continually dinned into his ears that he is a nobody, that he is inferior and criminal. This breaks down group morale, removes self-respect. If a man is made to believe that he is a citizen like anybody else, will be held accountable for what he does like anybody else, and is expected to stand up to the standards of a man, it goes a long way in deterring him from delinquent conduct.

Furthermore, crime is partly a matter of delinquent communities which have neglected to provide care and training for their children and young people. This is true of all delinquent classes. Crime is a community disease, and the individual is affected by contagion of vice and neglect. The Negroes, burdened with poverty, are crowded into segregated districts of our cities. The respectable persons and families among them have difficulty in protecting themselves from the vicious and criminal, both those of their own race and those of the white race, who prey upon the residents of such districts, especially upon the children and youths.

We may take the census figures of crime with allowances because of variations in collecting them. That the crime-rates of Negroes in the North exceed those in the

South, is partly accounted for by the fact that the large majority of the Negroes in the North are migrants, that a larger proportion are above ten years of age, and that more than three fourths of them live in the larger cities where commitments to prison for all classes are greater in number than in rural districts. Migrants are undergoing readjustments to new conditions and surroundings.

According to the census of 1910, the percentage of Negroes receiving sentences of one year or more was 33.8 per cent of all Negroes sentenced to prison in that year, while the whites receiving such sentences was 10.2 per cent of all whites sentenced: that is, the proportion of Negroes receiving such sentences was three times as large as the proportion of whites. This is partly due to heavier sentences being imposed upon Negroes for offenses similar to those of the white race, to different practises of states in imposing heavier or lighter fines for crimes as distinguished from misdemeanors, and to a larger number of white prison sentences for lighter offenses, with shorter terms, such as drunkenness and disorderly conduct. It may be of importance in this connection to compare prison sentences of Negroes for rape with those of other national elements of our population. Sentences for rape per 100,000 of the population in the United States in 1904 were: Colored 1.8, Italians 5.3, Mexicans 4.8, Austrians 3.2, Hungarians 2, French 1.0, Russians 1.0.[1] If all the Negroes who are charged with rape and lynched were added to these figures, the Negro rate would probably still be less than that of all the nationalities except the French and the Russians.

In commenting on its own figures of crime, the census report says that the figures—

[1] *Negro Year Book, 1918-1919*, pp. 371-72.

"will probably be generally accepted as indicating that there is more criminality and lawbreaking among Negroes than among whites. While that conclusion is probably justified by the figures, it is a question whether the difference shown by the ratios may not be to some extent the result of discrimination in the treatment of white and Negro offenders on the part of the community and the courts as well as the framing of some laws, such as those making non-payment of debts a crime instead of a civil liability.

"An offense committed by a Negro is perhaps more likely to be punished than the same offense committed by a white man, especially if the victim of the offense committed by the Negro is white, while in the other case the victim is Negro. It is probable that, as compared with the white man, the Negro when brought to trial on a criminal charge is in fewer instances able to employ expert counsel to defend his case and assist him in taking advantage of any technicality in the law which may be in his favor.

"Moreover, in the case of those offenses for which the penalty may be a fine or imprisonment as the alternative if the fine is not paid, it is probable that the Negro is more often unable to pay the fine than the white man and is therefore more likely to be sent to jail; but, of course, this consideration has little weight in connection with more serious offenses which are seldom penalized by fines only."

When the whole range of crime is taken into view, it is a striking fact that a Negro has never been accused of treason to his country, has never attempted to assassinate a president or other high public official, or has ever organized any kind of revolt against the Union, although the race has suffered from oppression during many generations.

The testimony of police and court authorities in New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, and other cities of the North

was that crime had decreased among Negroes during the prosperity of war wages and during the first months following the Armistice. The same is probably true elsewhere and indicates the influence of the Negro's poverty upon his crime and that increase in home ownership and better wages will decrease crime. Here again is the opportunity for the message of Him who sought to help the delinquent and neglected.

There seems to have been in the last twenty-five or thirty years a considerable increase in juvenile delinquency among Negroes. Whether or not this is due to the increased efficiency in gathering data and the handling of juvenile Negro delinquents or whether it is really an increase in the delinquency is hard to say. If it is the latter, it is partly explainable by the growing readjustments in Negro family life. It is to be borne in mind that the present generation of Negro children is the first that has had family control by parents born in freedom. The aftermath of slavery and all the turmoil of transition from serfdom to freedom and from country life to city life is still heavy upon the Negro family, childhood, and youth. Here lies the great hope and the great need for religious education and community service as a challenge to the Church—to care for these lambs of the fold.

The figures for defectives, showing the number and percentage of the insane, feeble-minded, and blind, are of very little value because the bulk of the Negro population is in the South where there is very little provision made for and there are few authentic records of these defective classes of Negroes.

Significant evidence of moral progress of Negroes may be cited from the experience with the 500,000 or more Negroes who migrated from the South to the

North during the World War and the months since the Armistice. They have been often in great congested crowds in many of the largest cities of the North; they have been separated from their old surroundings, friends, and home ties and have settled among a strange people in a strange land. While there are no figures available, and while newspaper headlines about Negro crime may create the other impression, the statements made by social workers, police officers, and citizens will bear ample testimony to their orderliness, their susceptibility to guidance, their respectful submission to authority, and their eagerness to adapt themselves to the order and routine of industry and life of the communities into which they come. Their desires and efforts to better their condition, take hold of and use the greater opportunities for education, the facilities for home life, and the community opportunities in the freer atmosphere of the Northern clime are eloquent tributes to their adaptive capacity and their power of achievement and a powerful appeal to the Christian forces of these communities to reach out helping hands to them.

Development of homes. Another evidence of Negro progress may be seen by looking at the thousands of Negro homes.

Much has been written about the homes of white people. Many a Sunday photographic supplement of white newspapers has pictured the homes, large and small, palatial and modest, of the white American. The advantages, sanctity, culture, and problems of white homes have been the subject of tongue and pen of able orators and writers. The homes of Negro people, however, have had songs from few poets and pictures from few pens. A venture in description of its development, its problems, sanctity, and culture is a tempting theme

for an essay, difficult of performance and is made not without a feeling of its inadequacy.

Such a portrayal of Negro homes necessarily begins with the ante-bellum plantation cabin. During slavery there were three general classes of Negroes whose home life varied:[1] (1) the field hands who comprised the majority; (2) the domestic and personal servants, who were in daily contact with the master and his family, together with a few slave artisans both on the plantation and in the towns and cities; (3) the free Negroes, who were considerable in numbers in localities like New Orleans, Charleston, Richmond, Nashville and Louisville, Philadelphia, and New York. The "field hands" lived in one-room cabins usually placed together in "slave quarters" at a distance from "the big house." Problems of sanitation and health had the supervision of overseer or master. The servant class lived in or near "the big house," so as to be within call day or night. The family ties of all slaves were made and broken without legal or moral barrier above the will of the owner. Slave parents had no legal rights over their children, and children followed the status of their mothers. On plantations having a number of slaves, while the mothers worked, the children too small to work were usually kept by some slave woman too old to be of service in the field. Such nurture and training as children received often came from others than their parents.[2]

Free Negroes had legal sanction for marriage, had title to their children, except in cases of a free father and slave mother. They set up homes of their own

[1] For graphic description see Coppin, Levi, J., *Unwritten History* (autobiography), pp. 17-94.

[2] Haynes, Elizabeth Ross, *Unsung Heroes*, pp. 11-21.

patterned after the best homes of neighboring whites. In some cases they owned slaves. Many of these homes in their housing, furniture, culture, and purity ranked among the best in the community. In North Nashville, Tenn., upon a terrace, stands an imposing eight-room brick residence, surrounded by a lawn and trees, which was built and occupied by a free man of color and his family in the late fifties. This instance can be matched in a number of other places. When emancipation came it was estimated that not less than 12,000 Negro families owned their homes.

From the free families, North and South, from the favored domestic and personal servants, and from the slave mechanics and town and city workers arose Negro professional and business classes during the first decades of freedom. A number of farmers owned their land; other thrifty ones began to buy. As soon as freedom came those who had been united as slaves sought legal and ecclesiastical sanction in marriage and reëstablished their family hearths upon the ashes of the slave cabin. The families which had been previously blessed by legal protection renewed their security. Out of these vicissitudes the Negro home has grown in stability, in purity, in culture, and in its power to mold a potential people. Generalizations about ten million people so widely distributed over the nation are risky writing. Classified types are only suggestive and only define the lines within which the variations range. The following descriptions of Negro homes, therefore, may be viewed with such allowances in mind.

The country Negro home is of three types. First, there is the cabin of the tenant, usually a one-room, squatty structure with open fireplace, sometimes with a "lean-to" kitchen.

Second, there is the two-room cabin, usually set on either side of a wide porch like the two rooms of a little log schoolhouse set on either side of an open passageway. The house is often built of lumber instead of logs and is unpainted. Window openings are covered with wooden shutters. The cooking is frequently done in the fireplace or in an adjoining shed. There are no modern conveniences such as running water and indoor toilet. The rooms are bare for the most part. Often pictures cut from newspapers or magazines are posted upon the wall, a cheap mirror may hang over the fireplace, and a Bible of some kind usually lies upon a shelf overhanging the fireplace or upon a plain table. Beds, white and fat with straw and "feather-ticks," and a few plain, "split-bottom" chairs, including one or two rocking chairs, make up the remainder of the furniture.

Third, the more prosperous Negro farmer usually builds a modern house with four or more rooms and some of the present-day conveniences. Paint on the outside, paper on the walls within, rugs and pictures, a few books, and usually a "race newspaper" show how far the conditions have improved. In nearly all these homes there is usually some kind of musical instrument—an accordion, a "fiddle," an organ, or sometimes a piano.

In all three types, mother and father form the center of the life, and some form of religious observance is the rule. One of the striking things about the country Negro home is that everybody works. The typical family is always in a struggle with poverty or for economic security. During the "cropping season," before the sun rises all hands are in the field, the children being kept from school—if there is a school. Long after the sun has set, they labor on.

The Negro in the town and city has to face a situa-

tion somewhat different. Here there are two main types of home. First, there is the tenement, either a single building of two or three rooms arranged in a line,—the gun-barrel tenement,—grouped with others, sometimes facing a front street, side street, or an alley; or a combination building of a number of crowded apartments —the ark type of tenement. Second, the substantial dwelling, usually comprising four to eight rooms, sometimes more, which has ample provision for health and privacy. If in a city that provides sanitary connections in Negro neighborhoods, such houses usually have running water, baths, and inside toilets. In Southern cities a yard, with space on front and sides, often containing shrubbery and a garden, gives a homelike appearance to the place. The public facilities of Negro neighborhoods, such as well-paved, lighted, and cleaned streets, properly collected garbage, sewage connections, and police and fire protection, are, as a rule, more striking by their absence than by their presence. The red light districts of whites, in cities that have them, are often allowed to locate within or near the Negro neighborhood, and the heads of the Negro homes cannot prevent their proximity.

The Negro family in the city has a no less intense struggle to make both ends meet than the family in the country. Migrating by the thousands during the past thirty years, from the small towns and rural districts, the large majority of Negroes are able to fill only unskilled and domestic service jobs, which are the lowest paid occupations. They are making the great adjustments both from serf labor to wage freedom and from rural work to city labor. Their chances for training in semiskilled and skilled occupations are restricted. In occupations where they are admitted, except under

conditions af labor shortage such as happened during the War, they often retain their places because they can be paid less than white workers for the same work and, when understood, are more easily managed. Negro men, therefore, find themselves heavily handicapped in getting support for their families. They die out more rapidly than white men in the struggle. Negro women, especially mothers, go out to work to help keep the wolf from the door, and Negro children, girls and boys, must usually cut short their growth and education to share the breadwinning of the family.

One of the startling facts of the struggle for home life is that the Negro's standard of living is rising faster than the returns from his occupational efficiency and opportunity. The standard of the houses required in the cities, the standard of food and clothing, wants in household furnishings and in other things are rising faster than the Negro's wage scale. War wages helped to even up the score and enabled many more Negro married women to stay at home and care for their own families. Now that the high wage period is past, however, the battle of the Negro home is renewed against low wages, absentee wage-earning mothers, the lure of wealth to its girls, and the helpless position in which its men often find themselves when they seek opportunities for better training, for better jobs, and chances to get and hold jobs with pay adequate to support their families.

Advance in community life. In thinking of homes one naturally looks out into the community. Evidences of Negro progress in the neighborhoods where they live, in city, town, and country, may be noted by any one who will take the time and the pains to form accurate and unbiased judgment. Development of Negro

community life, the participation in the many organizations and agencies for community and national advancement, and the development of a social consciousness and responsibility are no less marks of the progress of the Negro in the past sixty years than the material and statistical evidence which has just been reviewed.

In community life and citizenship, Negroes have made four steps in progress. They have learned to develop effective organizations of their own. They have grown rapidly in community consciousness and consciousness of social responsibility. They have come to a conviction of their unity with other parts of the community. They are asking, not that they be segregated in community organization, but that where their interests are affected, they be represented at the common council table by leaders of their own. They seek the opportunity to contribute their share to the common cause and to bear their part of the common responsibility. They have shown a readiness to coöperate and contribute which leaves no doubt about their attitude and desires in this matter, and white and Negro churchmen are setting the examples of new ways in their coöperative dealings.

Progress in education. While there can be no absolute measure of the increase in intelligence of a people, fair indications, without doubt, are furnished by the facts about progress in provision for education and by evidences of the results among the people.

Gradual gains have been made in developing common schools for the Negro in the South. The initiative for this has been very largely due to church and other private funds. The pioneer church missionary teachers laid the foundations. Probably the greatest step for-

ward has been the gradual change in the attitude of Southern white people toward Negro education. In 1920 it was reported that $13,000,000 was appropriated from public funds for Negro schools in Southern states.[1]

The attitude of county and state officers in several states controlling the distribution of school funds has been changing toward a larger and more equitable apportionment of public funds. This change of sentiment has been fostered by the Jeanes and Slater Funds, and by the state supervisors of Negro rural schools supported by the General Education Board and operating under state boards of education.[2] There is still, however, a long way to go. One leading Negro educator in a Southern state said: "The thing hardest for me to understand about some of my white friends, men whom I know intimately to be men who are square and liberal in all my dealings with them, is their willingness to go into a meeting and agree to take public school funds rightfully belonging to Negroes and appropriate them for schools for white children. How those men can square their action with their conscience is more than I can square with my belief in their integrity."

That there will continue to be improvement is shown by the action of the state of North Carolina in making liberal appropriations for Negro education from 1919 to 1922 of between one and two millions of dollars for high school, normal school, vocational, and agricultural education. It was a broad, liberal-minded, statesman-like step. The state of Oklahoma has recently restored about a million dollars of public funds to education

[1] Stokes, Anson Phelps, *Southern Workman*, March, 1922, pp. 114-116.

[2] Annual Report of the General Education Board, pp. 84-86.

of Negroes of the state. The provisions for secondary and higher educational institutions are probably increasing more slowly than those for the elementary schools. The higher institutions have to furnish the teachers, principals, supervisors, and superintendents for the elementary schools. They have the responsibility also of giving the academic training to all the other professional classes. The ministers, doctors, teachers, lawyers, writers, editors, and artists among the ten millions of Negroes in the United States should have the most thorough, advanced training.

Special mention may be made of the need of provision for training ministers. The majority of those now serving nearly 40,000 Negro churches have had very limited training. Besides, the ranks must be kept closed as many become superannuated, leave the profession, or pass away. A recent estimate showed an annual need of 1,200 men with only about 100 being prepared in existing religious-training institutions.

In 1920 a most careful accounting showed probably not more than one hundred real *public* high schools for Negroes in the towns and cities of the sixteen Southern states. There were none in the rural districts, excepting probably a few county training-schools that may be so rated.

In 1917-18, according to the state superintendents, there were in the sixteen Southern states and the District of Columbia 3,076,482 Negro children of school age. Of those, 2,039,706 or 66 per cent were enrolled in public schools. There were 36,585 Negro public school teachers and 64 public high schools. Negroes who could not read and write in 1860 were estimated at more than 90 per cent. In 1920 they were estimated at less than

25 per cent. There were two normal schools and colleges for Negroes, probably no higher than secondary grade, in 1860; in 1920 there were more than 500 institutions of secondary, normal, and college grades.

The percentages of the Negro children in the schools in comparison with all those of school age range from 88 per cent in the District of Columbia, 83 per cent in Oklahoma, 75.3 per cent in North Carolina, 53 per cent in Florida to a little over 60 per cent in Alabama, Maryland, and South Carolina, 43.6 per cent in Louisiana. The inadequate provision for Negro schools from public funds is illustrated by the meager salaries paid. Between 1910 and 1915 for 15 states and the District of Columbia the per capita salary for each white child was $10.32, and $2.89 for each Negro child.[1]

In the South, where practically all the schools for Negroes are located, about 18 per cent of the total expenditure for education in 1910 was for Negroes, although they made up about 30 per cent of the population. There has doubtless been considerable improvement during the twelve succeeding years, but figures are not available. The result is that a very large proportion of Negro children are not in school in spite of the eagerness and willingness of their parents. More than 30 per cent of the Negro children six to twenty years of age in the South and more than 40 per cent in the North in 1910 were not in school, while more than 35 per cent of the white children in the South were not in school. The disparity between Negro children not in

[1] Figures given are taken from the *Negro Year Book*, edited by Monroe N. Work; from the *Report on Negro Education* by U. S. Bureau of Education edited by Dr. T. J. Jones; from Census Report, *Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915*, and from the Negro section of the *World Survey*, American Volume, Interchurch World Movement, prepared by the author

school and white children not in school was greatest in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida.

It is inevitable that the majority of the people must depend upon public funds for their common school education, consequently a larger proportion of funds should come from the public treasury than from private sources. The productive private funds for institutional education of white people in the United States were estimated in 1915 as more than *fifty-three* times as large as similar funds for Negro education, although the white population is less than *ten* times as large.

This situation is growing better, however. There are 818 counties of the South where Negroes made up one eighth or more of the total population in 1910. In 1921, there were 272 county supervising teachers paid partly by the counties and partly through the Jeanes Fund in 269 of these counties in 13 states. These "traveling teachers," supervised by the county superintendents and the state supervisor of Negro rural schools, help rural teachers, add to the teaching of the elementary branches in rural schools, encourage home industries, give simple lessons in cleanliness and sanitation, promote improvement of schoolhouses and grounds, and organize clubs for school and neighborhood improvement. The supervisors that year visited regularly 8,976 country schools for Negroes. The amount of money paid through the Jeanes Fund for salaries was $94,287, and from the public funds, $119,746. These workers raised $394,737 for school improvements largely from local Negro citizens, although there is no means of knowing exactly how much came from contributions of local Negro patrons.

The Rosenwald School Building Fund given by Julius

Rosenwald, a Hebrew merchant of Chicago, provides money for erecting good school buildings in rural communities. Up to the end of 1921 there had been erected 1,005 of these school buildings at a total cost of $3,179,803. Of this amount, Negro patrons contributed more than one fourth, the Rosenwald aid nearly one fifth, and the remainder came mainly from public funds.[1] The General Education Board had appropriated up to July, 1921, for endowment and operation of Negro schools of all types, $2,291,737.50.[2]

There is a crying need for adequate secondary and normal schools in more than 700 counties and cities of the South to provide teachers for the elementary schools. The great need for institutions of higher learning is indicated in that the most liberal estimates[3] for higher institutions for Negro American youth show that there are not more than two institutions with the equipment, endowment, students, and teaching force required by the recent standard for an "efficient" college set by the Association of American colleges. Not more than thirty-six institutions can be reckoned as either first, second, or third grade in the second rank of colleges. Only two institutions offer courses in medicine, pharmacy, and dentistry sufficient to be rated by the Association of Medical Schools. In this connection there is no more heroic and unselfish story of the Christian Church written than that of the relation of the missionary agencies to the beginning and development of Negro education. The very foundations of Negro education, both public and private, were laid and supported by the Home Mission Societies with their money, their teachers, their vision and en-

[1] *Almanac and Year Book, Chicago Daily News*, p. 750.
[2] Annual Report, 1919-20, pp. 78-88.
[3] See *World Survey*, Interchurch World Movement, American Volume, pp. 95-98.

thusiasm, in the days before there was any sentiment for education of the Negro or any belief in his general capacity for achieving that education.

A conference of white and Negro educators having to do with the operation of the church boards of education of Negro denominations and with the missionary societies fostering educational work among Negroes set forth in 1920 the following as their judgment of the necessary minimum to be developed immediately from existing institutions: "(1) three 'University Centers' with well-equipped medical, religious, and graduate schools; (2) eleven institutions of standard college grade; (3) twenty-one institutions of junior college grade," and at least three hundred four-year high and secondary schools with adequate academic and vocational courses. . . . At least two hundred of these should be located in rural districts. In many institutions supported by missionary funds there is joint white and Negro management and joint support. If one ever doubts that the idealism and the Christian enthusiasm of America can bridge the color line, he has only to read the story of the development of Negro education, beginning with the pioneer teachers from the North who went among the freedmen and lived and taught all that learning and character had to offer.

Probably the first man of color to graduate from a college in the United States was Lemuel Haynes, who was a soldier throughout the Revolutionary War. He afterward graduated from Yale and became a Congregational minister. He served white churches at Torrington, Conn., and Manchester, N. H., was a pioneer in home missions, and won international recognition for his sermon against "Universalism." John Brown Russworm received a degree from Bowdoin College in 1826. Theodore S. Wright graduated from Princeton Theological

Seminary, and Edward Jones, from Amherst College the same year. The total number of Negro college graduates is now estimated to be more than 7,000, showing conclusively the capacity of these people. Additional educational progress of the Negro is also indicated by achievements in literature, music, and art.[1]

Advance in inventions and scientific discovery. Inventions and a few scientific discoveries are clear evidences of the progressive use Negroes are making of their educational opportunities.

Among the foremost things that have promoted the progress of America and the world are inventions, the product of thought and patient experiment. The cotton gin, the steam-boat, machinery for the cheap manufacture of garments and of shoes, the telegraph, the telephone, electric light, and numerous electrical appliances are samples of the thousands of inventions which have made our lives so safe, healthful, and comfortable. In this field, the Negro has made notable achievements which can be conclusively proven, to say nothing of hundreds of cases claimed that cannot be conclusively determined. Besides, there have been many inventions by Negroes that, like Benjamin Banneker's famous clock in the 18th century, were never patented. The United States Patent Office keeps a record of the nationality of inventors, but not of their race. In recent years, however, that office through the initiative of Mr. Henry E. Baker,[2] a Negro official there for forty-five years, has made a commendable effort to ascertain the patents secured by Negroes. About 800

[1] See Hammond, L. H., *In the Vanguard of a Race*.

[2] See "The Colored Inventor, a Record of Fifty Years," by Henry E. Baker, pamphlet, privately printed. By the same author, "The Negro in the Field of Invention," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. II, pp. 21-36, Jan., 1917.

patents have been definitely verified as issued to Negro patentees since the first two patents of corn harvesters granted to Henry Blair, a Negro, in 1834 and 1836, down to Elijah McCoy's well-known lubricating cups for machinery in motion, the last patent issuing to him in 1912. This number does not represent more than one half of the patents granted Negro inventors. The credit for the others "must perhaps lie forever hidden in the unbreakable silence of official records."

The importance of some of these inventions may be gathered from a few examples. Granville T. Wood sold several of his patents, one reported to have brought $10,000, to the General Electric Company and the American Bell Telephone Company. The lubricating cups of Elijah McCoy have been famous for more than thirty-five years as a "necessary equipment in all up-to-date machinery," most machinists probably never dreaming about the race of the inventor. One of the most outstanding achievements is the machine known as the "nigger-head laster" invented by Jan Matzeliger, a Negro shoemaker in a factory at Lynn, Mass. This machine does "automatically all the operations involved in attaching soles to shoes." The patent was purchased from Matzeliger by Sidney Winslow and the promotion of this machine laid the foundation for the United Shoe Machinery Company and the great wealth of its owners and promoters.[1]

In the field of scientific discovery, the work of Dr. Elmer S. Imes in magnetic physics has received recognition by the leading scientists in America and Europe. Dr. Ernest E. Just, Dr. Charles H. Turner, and Dr. George Turner are names well known among biolo-

[1] See statements in *Munsey's Magazine*, August, 1912, p. 722.

gists. Industrial and agricultural chemistry are debtors to several Negroes, the most noted of whom is Professor George W. Carver. The science of history knows well the name of W. E. B. DuBois and is beginning to acknowledge the work of Dr. C. G. Woodson and Professor Charles H. Wesley. With the larger educational opportunity fostered by Christian support, greater results will follow than have already been attained.

Strength in Negro leadership. Another factor in the progress of the last sixty years has been the remarkable leaders among the Negroes. Many of these Negro leaders have been men and women of such outstanding ability and character that they have been recognized, not only as Negroes, but as among the great American citizens. Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Dubois, Harriet Tubman, Blanche K. Bruce, John M. Langston, Alexander Crumwell, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, James Varick, Richard Allen, Bishop Alexander Walters, and Bishop Daniel A. Payne are some of the more notable characters whose names are known in both the white and Negro world. Besides these, there sleep under the million stars a corps of others who have worked for the advancement of the masses with devotion, with power, and with large success.

Moreover, if one goes over the list of Negroes in many walks of life in different communities, he is impressed by the fact that the majority of these people have been trained in the mission schools established by the several denominations. This is not only testimony to the potency of the training they received, but a clarion call to the churches to supply secondary and higher institutions of learning within the reach of the masses of the Negroes of the South, that in the future there may be a better trained leadership.

Progress in religious life. The highest expression of Negro life both in individuals and in groups is through their churches. Religious expression has been the very life blood of the Negro heart. Shut out from many of the civic activities of the communities and the nation, restricted from much of its great business development, limited in the enjoyment of its surging intellectual life, the Negro has found an outlet for his great self-expression through the organizations of his churches and their activities. Some indications of this religious life and progress should be mentioned.

The Negro loves his Church and pours into its organization and life enthusiasm, money, and energy, all largely increased because other avenues for group expression are closed to him. In 1860 there were probably about 1,000 edifices and about 700,000 Negro church members in the United States. In 1920, about five out of every eleven Negroes in the United States were church members. They had about 37,773 church edifices and about 3,618 parsonages in 1916 with an estimated value of more than $73,681,668 and an estimated indebtedness of more than $16,175,559. The distinctly Negro denominations of exclusively Negro churches had about 3,205,047 members in 1906 and about 4,083,278 members in 1916. The denominations consisting of white and Negro members had about 439,545 Negro members in 1906 and 480,771 Negro members in 1916. In the Negro denominations alone there were about 31,624 ministers in 1906 and about 34,962 in 1916.[1]

The average Negro country church comprises usually a rectangular frame structure, often unpainted outside and in, with plain benches, and a platform and pulpit for

[1] *World Survey*, American volume, Interchurch World Movement, section on Negro Americans prepared by the writer.

the preacher. Sometimes there are special enclosures for the choir and a reed organ. Services are held once or twice a month with Sunday-school as a seasonal activity controlled by the weather and condition of the roads. Financial support is inadequate for a resident pastor, and he usually lives in a near-by town or city and visits two or more churches on successive Sabbaths. City churches are better supplied, as a rule, in both building and other equipment. The structures quite frequently are brick or stone with modern improvements, musical instruments, and other aids to worship. They are served by full-time ministers. Sunday-schools and other auxiliary organizations are better organized and led than in country churches.

One of the great factors, if not the greatest, in the development of Negro religious life has been the Negro minister. Although he has often been severely censured, he has, nevertheless, been a real leader of his people. Even if he has appealed to their emotions, he has also soothed their sorrows. If he has played upon their imagination, he has also given them inspiration and hope in the face of discouragement and earthly trials. If he has unduly stirred their feelings, he has also preached to them patient forbearance in the face of provocations. It may be true that he has not generally been equipped with adequate knowledge of the Bible, of church history, and of the duties and requirements of ministers or priests, yet he has often preached with a natural eloquence that has lifted his hearers out of the commonplace; he has ministered to them with a spontaneous grace that has sent them on their way with rejoicing in the hope of a brighter future and with power to live a better daily life. When all is said, scattered here and there among the ministers

of the Negro people there have been and are men of character and knowledge who have gone about their work with an unselfish devotion which will bear comparison with the ministers of the Cross anywhere.

One significant index of Negro religious advancement has been the growth of the Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association. Among the men, 45 city associations were reported in 1920. Of these, 10 were in Southern and border cities. There were 15 additional industrial associations connected with plants where Negroes were employed. There were 7 international secretaries, 100 local secretaries, 20,000 members, and property valued at more than $2,000,000. Among the women, were reported 49 associations and 4 affiliated clubs of colored women, 12 national and 85 local workers, and a membership of 23,683. The Negro takes his religion as the dominating fact and factor in his life. If, therefore, Christian America can rise with enthusiasm to meet these aspirations of a people struggling to reach the higher things of life, the churches can be made a most powerful factor in the advancement of the people and the promotion of brotherly coöperation between the races. Here, then, in the changed conditions of the Negro in agriculture, in industry, in business, and in the professions; in his educational achievements, in his homes, churches, and the community, we have new situations calling for a new set of feelings, attitudes, and habits of action in race relations.

Need for increased opportunities. It should be pointed out in closing that, as a result of experiences North and South, the development of these people and the development of leadership to carry them forward during the coming years call for opportunities larger

than they have had in the past. They need the following essential elements in the economic relations of Negro workers, white workers, and employers:[1]

(1) A fair chance in industry: to get work and to hold it upon the same terms of tenure and of wage as white workers.

(2) The opportunity for Negro workers to be trained for and to be advanced to the more skilled and highly paid occupations, as they show equal ability to fill them. This is a reasonable, fair, and American principle which in practise will not jeopardize the white workman nor retard industry.

(3) The adjustment of the conditions of Negro tenants and farm laborers of the South, so that those whose hands produce the crops may share equitably in their bounty. This will benefit all those whose interests rest upon Southern agriculture. A fairly treated, more efficient Negro farmer and farm laborer will give more lint to the cotton mills, more seed to the oil mills, more corn for the miller, more peanuts and tobacco for the factories, more prosperity for the merchant, the industrial captain, and the banker.

(4) With the entrance of Negro women into industry, and in their relations to domestic and personal service, better treatment, training, and wages will have an effect upon every industrial plant where they are employed and upon every home where they serve.

(5) The improvement of the housing and neighborhood conditions where Negro workers live will not only help the Negro workers, but add to the health and happiness of every person in the community.

[1] The substance of some of these points is drawn from a Department of Labor report prepared by the author, entitled "The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction," Government Print, Washington, 1921.

(6) The white employer of Negro labor, the white worker engaged in the same occupation with the Negro, and the Negro worker himself,—the interests of all three are involved. Friendly adjustment of the labor situation will be most far reaching in bringing just and coöperative race relations. Because of his cheerful, non-militant temperament, the Negro worker can help the white employer and white worker to see that all are engaged in a joint enterprise. This may help to lead all away from the policy and theory of class war now widespread in the industrial field.

(7) The Negro wage earners furnish the backbone, economically speaking, of the progress of the whole group because the business and professional men must draw their patronage from them. They also are the main labor dependence of many communities. Color should no longer weigh in the opportunities for entrance into industrial occupations, especially the higher and skilled occupations. Race should no longer play a part in the conditions of tenantry and the opportunities to take advantage of federal farm loans, for the purchase of land and the improvement of farm homes. The application of the Golden Rule to them would work wonders in race relations and show that the principle is truly golden.

Not only opportunities in the agricultural and industrial field, but opportunities in the intellectual, civic, moral, and spiritual fields are required if the prophecy of achievement shown by the remarkable progress of the last sixty years is to be fulfilled. The time has arrived when the color of a man's skin should no longer be an excuse for any kind of injustice to him, or a cloak for a denial of the full measure of protection, justice, and opportunity guaranteed to every American by the very fundamental law of our republic. These

people need schools, set and developed upon the standards of the best that America has in its vision. They need churches, and guidance in those churches, that shall be marked by the highest type of equipment, of policy, of plans, programs, and personnel that shall make them the par of any similar facilities for the development of the moral and spiritual life of America. They ask Christian America for a new spirit, a new attitude and a new way of acting toward them in better keeping with the ideal of Christian brotherhood.

CHAPTER III

The Trend of the Negro World

THE practical test of human capacity, physical, mental, and spiritual, is the struggle of life. After all the discussion about the capacity of the Negro, his struggles and achievements under the conditions that have met him in American life are the evidences of his capacity. During the hearings of a committee of the United States House of Representatives on the Fordney Emergency Tariff Bill, a short, thin, coal-black man, a professor from one of the Negro institutions of the South, was ushered before the committee. The chairman announced with emphasis that the gentleman would be given ten minutes to talk about southern peanuts and their need of protection by the tariff. In a high, tenor voice and with a smile on his face, the speaker began. As he neared his time limit, one of the congressmen on the committee arose to ask that his time be extended some minutes more. He continued, giving more information about his researches into the many uses to be made of the "ground pea," from a substitute for cow's milk made of its fat to polishing powder to be made from its hulls and to ink and dyes from its skin.

The members of the committee leaned toward the swarthy speaker with wide-open eyes and plied him with questions. Presently the chairman said, "Go ahead, brother; your time is unlimited." [1] He closed after about an hour, declaring that, from his study and experiments, he believed that with the sweet potato and the peanut, the

[1] Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Sixty-sixth Congress, No. 14, January 21, 1921.

South, if necessary, could feed itself, grow fat, and have a surplus for other parts of the country. When he had finished, the chairman and committee gave him a vote of thanks, and the white Southern peanut promoters who had brought him to Washington as their spokesman went out elated.

When, during the World War, Hudson Maxim made the confidential experiments for the United States on the use of magnetism with torpedoes, he had as his assistant a young Negro man, a graduate of one of the Southern missionary colleges, and a Ph.D. in physics from the University of Michigan, who is an authority on magnetics, and who now holds a position with a leading firm of consulting engineers.

During the War, the employment superintendent of one of the largest foundries in the country, employing white and Negro molders and workmen, was a stalwart Negro, a technical graduate of a state university.

One of the preachers whom Methodists send for to speak at their conferences is a minister of a Negro congregation who did not have an opportunity for an education until he was nearly a man. And one of the special sermons recently given large space in a leading homiletic magazine was prepared by a minister of one of the Negro denominations.

From one of the missionary schools there went out in the early eighties to the uninviting sand hills of central Alabama a quiet Negro man who began a work which has not only influenced the Negro of America but which has contributed to the educational practise of the South, the nation, and the world. Some of his students have gone to various other out-of-the-way places in rural districts and towns and have set up schools which have

Photo by F. P. Burke, Chicago.

ASSEMBLING COILS IN A SPRING FACTORY

Since the World War began there has been a marked increase in the number of Negro women in industrial occupations.

been beacons to the oppressed and neglected. Recently white and Negro citizens from every section of the nation gathered and unveiled a monument to the memory of Booker T. Washington and vied with each other in praising his name.

These examples may introduce the reader to the types of mental and spiritual capacity which Negroes of education and character are showing in America. Twenty-two such Negroes have received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the highest university recognition earned in residence, from the most representative institutions including Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania, and Chicago. Three of these are full-blood Negroes who can trace their lineage back to Africa, and three are women. More than seven hundred Negroes have surmounted the obstacles and have been graduated from the best Northern colleges. Over six thousand others have been graduated from missionary colleges of the South.

Evidence of mental capacity in the Negro. The test of mental capacity and temperamental efficiency is the use of the mind.[1] The evidence of such capacity and efficiency in the Negro is the acquisition and use of such education as the surrounding opportunities offer and the success he has achieved in the struggle of life in America. The weight of evidence and the best authorities today along this line point to the conclusion that it is not the lack of mental capacity and temperamental efficiency of the Negro, but the poverty in mental property, the accumulated knowledge of our times and freedom to use it, which has made a great difference between the Negro

[1] See Appendix for a brief summary of the principal scientific opinions on the question of Negro mental capacity. The text here deals with the life experience aspects.

group and other races.[1] In spite of the effects of servitude, of the grievously inadequate school facilities, and of the restrictions of the adult population from participation in much of the great stream of economic, intellectual, and civic life, most authoritative testimony agrees that the Negro in America has made substantial progress in education, in acquisition of wealth, in production of literature, art and music, and in other evidences of such capacity and temperament.

Furthermore, hundreds of native Africans have gone to Europe and America and have been successful, some of them winning distinction, in pursuing courses of study at the best colleges and universities. Many of them have later used their knowledge and skill effectively in America, Europe, and Africa. A native African from the Gold Coast, having been educated in a Southern missionary college and Columbia University, and having spent nearly twenty years as a professor and officer in a Southern Negro college, is preparing to return to Africa to lead an educational movement. On a recent tour of that continent he convinced Europeans of his learning and culture in their critical contact with him. Another native African is now studying at Columbia University for a similar purpose. These two are typical examples of scores. An American Negro graduate of a Baptist mission college of North Carolina sailed last year to become National Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in South Africa. During the World War he served as a secretary in East Africa, India, and Europe.

Where Negroes have come in considerable numbers into communities in which some of the handicaps and

[1] See Thomas, W. I., *Source Book for Social Origins;* Deniker, *The Races of Man, pp.* 60-64; Ratael, *History of Mankind,* Vol. II, pp. 317 ff.; Finot, Jean, *Race Prejudice,* pp. 57-108, 129-132, 201-215.

restrictions upon their free participation in the life about them have been removed, individual achievements have often been such that those who made them were regarded as prodigies rather than as concrete illustrations of the capacity of a people. Examples of these results are at hand in many communities as a result of the missionary activities of the past sixty years. The opportunity of Negroes to use the intellectual property in such missionary college centers as Nashville, Tenn., Atlanta, Ga., Marshall, Tex., Tuskegee, Hampton, and Richmond, Va., Wilberforce, Ohio, and other places has brought to the surface hundreds of Negro men and women with minds and spirits that have not only demonstrated their capacity to acquire such intellectual property of our modern world, but to use this material for substantial achievements.

The question, then, of our further search among the Negro people in America is a study in characteristic mental feelings, attitudes, and habits as indications of mental capacity and efficiency. This chapter is an attempt to analyze the results of the mental experience of a large proportion of Negroes, in order to understand their part in making the public opinion which controls race relations. There is no attempt here at an academic study of group psychology. The existence and possession of the acquisitive, sex, and other human instincts, as well as the fundamental emotions, by the white and Negro people are taken for granted.

Feelings influence attitudes and conduct. When we turn to feelings, attitudes, and habits of action of Negroes, two lines of facts are before us. First, there are certain mental feelings, attitudes, and habits that have resulted in definite contributions to science, the arts, and to community life, which records show Negroes to have made. This may be termed the cur-

rent of the interior Negro World. Second, there are feelings, thoughts, and action which have affected Negro individuals and groups as they have responded to the feelings, attitudes, and habits of acting of the larger white world. These are currents from the outer white world that have been bent by the mind of the Negro, according to its own genius. The first type of mental results is here indicated in the discussion of Negro contributions in humor, drama, music, literature, art and religion. The second type is treated in the other sections of the chapter.

Humor and dramatic ability. It is not an accident that three of the leading American comedians of the past decade were Negroes,—Ernest Hogan, George Walker, and Bert Williams, and that two of the leading ones to-day are F. E. Miller and Aubrey Lyles. One of the popular dramatic actors is Charles Gilpin, a Negro. The power to see the cheerful, humorous side of life has made the smiling Negro face a characteristic one. Williams said, in an article in the *American Magazine* on "The Comic Side of Trouble," that much of his material was drawn from the Negro life he observed daily about him. He described humor as the power of seeing oneself in a difficult or embarrassing situation and of being ready to smile with others in spite of one's own predicament; as, for example, when one slips on the ice and tumbles. These dramatic artists are examples of what may develop in the case of many other Negroes of histrionic capacity if favorable chances enable them to break through the barriers that have thwarted the aspiration of many a black artist. Ira Aldridge, an American Negro, a great Shakespearean tragedian, sought the stage in England, Germany, and Russia because he could not get a chance in the American theater. Recently a popular moving picture star whose face had become a film

feature was dismissed by a well-known producing firm when it was discovered she had Negro blood. When more of such talent gets a chance, it will make a substantial contribution to America.

This characteristic humor overflows in popular Negro poetry and music and is present at almost every gathering of Negroes. As one travels in the South, this cheerfulness of heart may be seen reflected in the faces of the Negroes gathered at the railroad stations. This overflowing good feeling smiles at trouble, mocks at restrictions, and makes the Negro able to take neither himself, his race, nor the world too much as Atlas took the burden upon his shoulders. It enables him to help the world forget its sorrows.

Some may misjudge this Negro trait as a happy-go-lucky attitude. Far from it; the Negro loves his home, his family, and his friends; but he appreciates too much of the cheerful and dramatic in life to worry himself sick over its "passing show." For instance, a Negro poet sings:

> We have fashioned laughter
> Out of tears and pain,
> But the moment after—
> Pain and tears again.

Capacity for music. For the expression of musical feeling and conception in past generations, the Negroes have not been dependent upon theatrical audiences and technical equipment. When music welled up in their souls, they opened their mouths and sang. In the cotton fields of the slave plantation they could hear the tunes of Gabriel's harp, and they responded with vibrant, tuneful voices. In the forests about these fields they could detect the "brush of angels' wings." They burst forth in notes commanding the heavenly chariots to "swing

low" and carry them home from a humdrum life of harsh toil and harsher treatment.

When opportunity for training in technical skill has been offered and the appreciation of a supporting public has furnished favorable conditions, this well-spring of musical feeling has poured forth a finished work on a plane to compare favorably with that of the musicians of any race. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor,[1] born of an African father in England, was fortunate in finding a benefactor who opened the doors of the Royal College of Music and other opportunities for him, until the British public began to know and appreciate. His music to Longfellow's "Hiawatha" is a notable contribution. While this composition deals with a story of Indian life, many a strain of African melody, crystallized in the vocal and orchestral score, is a delight to the musical world. Among his compositions are his great "Tale of Old Japan" and his musical settings for Stephen Phillips' "Herod," "Ulysses," and "Nero." What a loss there might have been, had he lived under the restrictions of America!

Some American Negroes in recent years have been sounding forth melody of song and string of a high quality. Harry T. Burleigh, for many years a soloist at St. George's Episcopal Church in New York, has arranged the tunes of many of the old Negro plantation songs, "the spirituals," to the enjoyment of all who have heard them. His arrangement of "Deep River," "I stood on de Ribber of Jordan," and "Bye-and-bye Goin' to Lay Down my Heavy Load" have their places now in many a musical repertoire. Besides work in this direction, Mr. Burleigh has a number of original art compositions which display a wide range of emotion and a thorough

[1] Haynes, Elizabeth Ross, *Unsung Heroes,* pp. 127-149.

grasp of musical knowledge and technical skill. He is now editor for Ricordi, the music publisher.

Rosamond Johnson, who published a number of compositions in the *Ladies' Home Journal* in years past, was not generally known to its readers as a man of color. He was born in Florida and trained in a missionary school in Atlanta, Georgia. Later he enjoyed the freedom of art in New York. His brother, mentioned below, wrote the words of many of his songs. R. Nathaniel Dett in recent years has been developing themes and melodies from the Negro folk songs. One of his compositions, "Listen to the Lambs," has put into imperishable score the plantation melody which recites the story of Christ's testing of Peter. His "Juba Dance," woven out of the rhythm of a Negro dance, has been played and enjoyed in almost every land. His "Chariot Jubilee" has enlarged the simple melody of "Swing low, Sweet Chariot" into a motet for voices and orchestra. With the larger opportunities growing out of his position as Musical Director of Hampton Institute, later years will doubtless see more and greater expression of the music singing in the soul of his people.

During the past ten years Roland Hayes, a black boy from Tennessee, has given evidence by his tenor voice of the "flowers of purest ray serene" which lie hidden in the "dark, unfathomed caves" of Negro life. Hayes was "discovered" by a friend who sent him to a missionary college at Nashville, Tenn., established and supported by one of the Northern missionary associations. Some friends found further openings with one of the best music teachers of Boston. Hayes has a tenor voice which musical critics declare has possibilities for grand opera. His face is black, and therefore no American manager has dared to take him. Two years ago he went to Eng-

land. There he has been received by leading musical artists and critics. Recently he was invited by His Majesty to sing at Buckingham Palace. Not only did he sing the Negro "spirituals," to the delight of the royal family, but his rendition of some of the great classical works called forth praise from the King, who, as a token of appreciation, presented him with a diamond pin bearing the royal insignia.

Space does not permit a description of the work of other singers such as Mrs. Florence Cole Talbert, a soprano praised by the best judges, Madam Azalea Hackley, who delighted many American audiences, and Albert Greenlaw, whose bass voice a vocal expert called the most nearly perfect voice he had ever heard. Raymond Augustus Lawson, Helen Hagan, and Hazel Harrison as pianists; Clarence Cameron White, Joseph Douglass, a grandson of Frederick Douglass, and Kemper Harrold as violinists; Will Marion Cook and James Reese Europe as orchestral leaders, are examples chosen from a number of promising persons of color who have made commendable records, even under the tremendous color handicaps in America. No claim is here made that Negroes outstrip other people in music. We recall, however, that many leading musical authorities have declared that the Negro has produced in his folk-songs the only original American music. We may surmise what a musical contribution many members of this race will make to America and to the world when full-fledged opportunity is given them.

This music of the Negro soul has a rhythm which pulsates in his muscular movement even when he walks and works. Any one who wishes may observe a gang of Negro laborers keeping time at their work while a strawboss or "caller" sings some rhythmic, syncopated

tune. A similar rhythm may be observed among Negro stevedores trotting in and out of a vessel they are loading, or among freight handlers in large warehouses. Khrebiel, the noted critic, says that this rhythm with a pristine, plaintive melody is the dominant characteristic of native African music. McMaster, in describing the slaves of the early eighteenth century, says: "Of music and the dance they were passionately fond. With fragments of a sheep's rib, with a cow's jaw or a piece of iron, with an old kettle or a bit of wood, with a hollow gourd and a few horse hairs, they would fabricate instruments of music and play the most plaintive airs." The "cake walk" which Negroes perform for the amusement of white patrons at pleasure resorts is a rhythmical expression of harmony between supple muscles and musical minds. The "rocking" and "shouting" of popular church gatherings among Negroes are responses through motion to the waves of rhythmic emotion sweeping through brain and nerve.[1] Many of the "spirituals" are improvised at such meetings as vocal expressions by means of which the members of the congregation keep time in their movements.

Capacity for poetry. Music, probably, has always been the companion art of poetry as the highest expression of spiritual life of a nation or a race as it has striven to give voice to its deepest feelings, desires, and profoundest attitudes toward the world.[2] Professor Robert Kerlin, a Southern white man, formerly of Virginia Military Institute, says: "A people's poetry affords the most serious subject of study to those who would understand that people—that people's soul, that people's status,

[1] Coppin, Levi J., *Unwritten History*, p. 106.
[2] Cf. Mecklin, John M., *Democracy and Race Friction*, pp. 55-57.

that people's potentialities. There has been in these years a renaissance of the Negro soul, and poetry is one of its expressions . . . perhaps the most potent and significant expression of the re-born soul of the Negro in this our day."

Citing several selections from different authors to illustrate his points, Professor Kerlin continues: "In other races, oratory and poetry have been accepted as the tokens of noble qualities of character, lofty spiritual gifts. Such they are in all races. They spring from mankind's loftiest aspirations—the aspirations for freedom, for justice, for virtue, for honor, and for distinction. That these impulses, these aspirations, and these endowments are in the American Negro and are now exhibiting themselves in verse—it is this I wish to show to the skeptically minded." [1]

From colonial days, the American Negroes have had their poets. In the eighteenth century was the poetess, Phillis Wheatley. Born of native parents in an African jungle, brought to America when a child, and sold as a slave to a Boston family, she was educated and wrote poetry which was appreciated in America and England. How many potential poets who never found expression were lost in those years cannot be told. Certain it is there were others, for many of the old plantation songs were composed by them. Prof. Thomas W. Talley of Fisk University, himself a Negro, brought out a book of "Negro Folk Rhymes" that contains a number of stanzas, gathered from the lips of the people, that critics say portray real poetic qualities. In 1829 a benefactor published a volume of poems of James M. Morton, a North

[1] Kerlin, Robert T., "Contemporary Poetry of the Negro," *Hampton Bulletin,* February, 1921.

Carolina slave, hardly able to read, who sang plaintively: [1]

> Come, melting pity from afar,
> And break this vast, enormous bar
> Between a wretch and thee;
> Purchase a few short days of time,
> And bid a vassal soar sublime
> On Wings of Liberty.

Here and there, during the early nineteenth century, in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, lines of Negro versifiers found their way into print. Negro bards had sung their songs before William Dean Howells heard Paul Lawrence Dunbar and brought him to the notice of the American public. The work of Dunbar and of William Stanley Braithwaite show evidence of poetic vision, emotion, and skill of a very high order. They are only, however, the brighter stars in a firmament illumined by many others.

Every race has its bards. The thing of far reaching significance in the case of the American Negro to-day is that these poets show distinctly and uniquely the possibilities of Negroes. They are only the forerunners of other prophets of deeper insight into life and of broader vision of its meaning who will some day speak forth. The verses of James Weldon Johnson, Charles Bertram Johnson, Joseph Cotter, Jr. and Sr., Leslie P. Hill, Georgia Douglass Johnson, and many others clearly show latent genius longing for greater opportunity. These singers, with more cultivated art than the slave could put into his "spirituals," lead Professor Kerlin to say: "Some lyrical drama like 'Prometheus Bound,' but more touching and more human; some epic like 'Paradise Lost,' but nearer to the common heart of man; some 'Divine Com-

[1] Quoted in E. A. Johnson's *School History of the Negro Race in America*, p. 43, from the Raleigh (N. C.) *Register*, July 2, 1829.

edy,' that shall be the voice of those silent centuries of slavery as Dante's poem was the voice of the long-silent epoch preceding it, is not the improbable achievement of some descendent of the slaves." [1]

Not alone in poetry, but in other forms of literature is there promise of production. The stories of Uncle Remus collected and told by Joel Chandler Harris were made around the cabin firesides of Negroes. Alexander Dumas was a mulatto. Charles W. Chesnutt wrote short stories and novels that had their day of general popularity. A West Indian Negro reared in France won the Goncourt prize in 1921 for the best novel describing native conditions in Central Africa. The "Quest of the Silver Fleece" and the prose poems in "Souls of Black Folk" and "Darkwater" will win for W. E. B. DuBois a place as a writer long after the controversies over the "race problem" are ended. The orations of Frederick Douglass almost touch the scale of eloquence of Edmund Burke. Booker Washington's autobiography, "Up From Slavery," has become classic, with translations into many languages. Prose writers of greater ability may yet arise.

Capacity for art. The world of painting and sculpture yields evidence of fruitful expressions of Negro mind. Experiments tried with several groups of Negro children without previous instruction in water coloring showed a surprising "feeling tone" for harmony in color combinations. Frequently exercises in free-hand drawing and clay modeling taken at random from grammar school Negro children show a sense of form and proportion beyond that which had been taught them. Henry O. Tanner had to go abroad to get full opportunity to study. He remained abroad permanently to do the work which has classed him among the masters. His "Daniel in the

[1] Kerlin, Robert T., work cited.

Lion's Den," his "Washing the Disciples' Feet," "The Walk to Emmaus," "The Annunciation," and several other masterpieces have been accepted in the Louvre and other leading art galleries. He has won fame especially for wonderful harmony of light and color.

E. M. Bannister, Richard Lonsdale Brown, Mary Howard Jackson, Edmonia Lewis, Meta Warwick Fuller, and John Henry Adams are prophetic of the many promising recruits to art when the sum of full American opportunity beams upon this people.

Religious genius of the Negro. In quite another direction, that of religious fervor and faith, we may study characteristic attitudes and expressions of Negro mind as it reacts to the currents of the surrounding world. This is not a claim that the Negro has any monopoly upon the religious expression of mankind. Frequently, observers of Negro religious meetings have been led to regard the emotional expression lightly or humorously. Such people have seldom considered the serious meaning of these outbursts of religious enthusiasm in terms of social sanction, group control, and racial genius. Furthermore, through his emotional ecstasy the Negro's spirit has often been relieved from the deadening effects of toil and restricted liberty. Shut out from participation as a citizen in the full sense of the word in the general activities of the community and the nation, the Negro found in religious activity an avenue through which his personality has found relief and outlet.

This religious life has other aspects. The faith of the slave, especially during the later years of his bondage, that the God to whom he cried in moaning and longings that could not be uttered, would some day, somehow, bring liberty and opportunity to him and his children, gave him forbearance to endure. Buoyed up by their re-

K. C. K.

ligious confidence, thousands of slaves remained at home and cared for the wives and children of many masters who were away fighting battles that decided the destiny of those slaves.[1]

In the years that followed, when thousands of the white men never returned, many of these same fervent "followers of the Lamb" voluntarily remained on the farm and the plantation to provide for the women and the children of the white families. In numerous cases this meant arduous toil and personal privation through a large part of a lifetime. This conduct was due not to weakness or cowardice, nor was it due to the uninformed inertia of ignorance, as the crowds that moved to Union Army posts and urban centers between 1865 and 1870 showed. But it was because of personal attachments to those whom they served, because of fidelity to family trusts often definitely committed to them by departing masters, and because of a deep religious sympathy for helpless children and bereaved women.

It may be asked how we can reconcile the numbers of mean, vicious, and criminal characters among Negroes with this opinion of religious capacity and innate goodness. That the savage instincts of some, as among other people, were never subdued is not peculiar. The slave pen and auction block, the deadened hope from denied reward of honest toil, the one-room cabin and the gun-barrel shanty of the towns and cities, devoid of sanitation and privacy, the dirty Negro neighborhood neglected by police, fire, and health authorities and preyed upon by the vicious and criminal classes of both races have left their wrecks in Negro life. Yet the soul of this people still vibrates with its pristine fervor of fellow-feeling, with its music and its poetry, with its loud out-

[1] Coppin, Levi J., work cited, pp. 72-93.

bursts of religious ecstasy, and with its free flow of unsolicited service, a devotion which love alone lavishes and which money cannot buy.

Personal relations valued above property possession. The first of these characteristic states of mind of the Negro in reaction to the white world may be termed a philosophy of everyday relations. From the Negro point of view the basis of communication is that of personal relations rather than economic connections. For example, the Negro worker often remains on the job because he likes "the boss" more than because he values the pay. The sympathetic understanding and treatment by the employer determine his likes and dislikes. Some employers who have recognized this fact have had large success in the management of Negro workers. One of the officials of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company once said, "We have our quartermen and foremen understand that one of the first requisites in dealing with these men is the kindly word and the personal touch and interest." On another occasion, when a ship was being launched, a number of men from other jobs were standing around or upon the hull of the vessel enjoying the sight as the ship slid off the ways into the water. In reply to a question about the freedom of these men to watch the ceremonies, a foreman said, "Oh, they are free to do that if they like; these men feel at home here." For years that shipbuilding plant has had excellent response from its Negro workers; and among the Negroes of the community, the president of the Company is the most popular white man.

This feeling about personal relations is one of the underlying mental factors in Negro migration from the South. The economic call of better wages in the North has been strong, but there have been other reasons than

purely economic opportunity. Many left because the old personal relations between boss and workman, landlord and tenant, have been disappearing. Many Negroes no longer feel that there are those among their white neighbors who have a personal interest in their problems and who will see that they have more opportunities for a better, freer life. They have the tradition of finding these things in the North, in "God's Country," as some of them call it.[1] Conversations with thousands of them in all walks of life, examination of their songs, their sayings of wit and wisdom, their letters,[2] all bear out the fact that this feeling for friendly personal relations is a large factor in their migration to the North. They believe that their opportunities for obtaining such interest are better. Whether or not they find it is another matter; they believe they will, and so they move.

Self-forgetful loyalty of the Negro. The self-forgetful loyalty to the interests and cause of others even where it conflicts with self-interest has been shown repeatedly as a characteristic attitude of Negroes. Expression of this loyalty has been given in many directions through centuries of association, not only with the white man, but with other races and between African tribes. In South Africa, natives must be employed on terms that allow periodic visits to their ancestral tribes. Otherwise, the employer often finds his servants have departed anyway because of the call of the native kraal and the requirements of tribal ceremony. Loyalty to persons has led to the selection of Negroes for almost every great historic exploring expedition, from the voyages of

[1] See "Four Open Letters to the College Men of the South," issued by the University Race Commission, 1916-20.

[2] See collection of letters of Negro migrants published in *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 291-340, July, 1919; No. 4, pp. 412-465, Oct., 1919.

Columbus to America, of Balboa on the Pacific, to the days when Matthew Henson, a Negro, was sole companion of Admiral Peary on the final lap of his journey to the North Pole.

This attitude of loyalty has been shown remarkably in the Negro's relation to the American flag, the symbol of our "land of the free and home of the brave." An account of his offerings for the liberty of our country is illustrative of his loyalty. Hundreds of Negro soldiers joined the Revolutionary Army and suffered all the privations of that struggle, including the winter with Washington at Valley Forge. Many Negroes made the supreme sacrifice in the War of 1812. The story of Negro heroes during the Civil War is well known. The accounts of the engagements at Fort Picket and Fort Wagner, at Petersburg, at Fredericksburg, at Gettysburg, and elsewhere would be very incomplete without the story of their exploits. In the Spanish-American War the charge at El Caney and the capture of its block house was one of the strategic battles of that war. In the Philippines and in Mexico at Carrizal many Negro troopers made records of heroism that should be given their merited setting in our historical skies. Many demonstrations of the Negro's loyalty during the World War are described in Chapter IV.

The crowning feature of this loyalty, however, was greater than the tasks performed and the sacrifices made. Many who fought for American liberty in the revolutionary period were themselves slaves knowing that the Declaration of Independence did not secure the emancipation of their race. Negro soldiers of the Civil War did have hopes that their blood might wash away their bondage. But by the time of the Spanish-American War and the World War, Negroes of America knew that they

had not received security of person, property, and liberty, and that in other ways their part in American democracy was less than that of other citizens. Mobs and lynching, miscarriage of justice in the courts, disfranchisement at the polls, and other restrictions and discriminations had driven deep into their consciousness the knowledge that as yet they were not in fact full-fledged American citizens.

With this condition so plainly stamped upon their minds, yet more than a third of a million of Negroes during these two wars went forward in loyal devotion to dare and to do and to die to preserve the very liberty and democracy from the full enjoyment of which they knew that they and the majority of their race would be excluded by their white fellow-citizens. In the face of restrictions and humiliations, thousands of these men, sometimes fresh from camps where discriminations had been forced upon them, went "over the top" with other Americans to meet the enemies of their country. Many of them are sleeping their long, last sleep in the Philippines and on the fields of France, that America and the world may be "safe for democracy." The muse of history will search her archives for records that match or outstrip these annals of unselfish loyalty of a people! Why, then, can Justice withhold from the least of these full enjoyment of her protection? Christian America should give the answer.

Tolerance and optimism under oppression. Another characteristic expression of Negro mind in race relations may be called its attitude of patient tolerance and sustained optimism. These are illustrated in Negro forbearance under opposition, restriction, and oppression, in his method of meeting difficult problems and situations, and in the hopefulness and loving kindliness of his folk-songs

and in his enthusiasm. The tolerance can best be illustrated by contrast with corresponding reactions of other racial groups under similar conditions. For instance, the people of southern Ireland for nearly seven hundred and fifty years have been under conditions of restriction less irksome and with less limitation upon liberty and property of the individual than the Negro under American slavery and partial freedom during more than three hundred years. The difference in the action of the two groups is too well known to need recounting. The Irish have argued, conspired, and fought with tongue and pen and sword and fire. The Negroes have worked and prayed and awaited "times and seasons."

The American Indian confronted the same white men in America under many conditions similar to those of the African Negro. But besides being a poor worker under compulsion and succumbing quickly to the white man's diseases, the Indian often used the tomahawk and scalping knife. The Negroes who survived the battles of the slave raids in Africa and the suicide, disease, and cruelty of the slave ships, learned to use the hoe, the plow, and the white men's ways of living and working. They bowed their bodies to the toil, they survived, they multiplied, they achieved.

Carping critics have said that this action of the Negro was due to a lack of courage. A mass of evidence shows the contrary to be true. For illustration, South African Boer and Briton know the prowess and courage in war of the Zulus.[1] The story is told of the cry of the Ashantis in their disastrous uprising against the British who were pushing them from their native territory: "To go back

[1] Compare also accounts of slave insurrections in America between 1712 and 1832; Brawley, B. G., *Social History of the American Negro.*

is to die, to go forward is to die: we will go forward and die."

Patient tolerance is shown also by Negroes in the face of difficult situations. Anglo-Saxon nerves under similar conditions try either to remove the obstacle, to go through it, or to smash either it or themselves in the attempt. The Negro does not have the smashing attitude of mind. He tries to find a path around the obstacle, to climb over it, or tolerantly to sit down and wait until time or tide removes it. His attitude of mind enables him "to labor and to wait" and to achieve his ends by "indirect approach" rather than by "feverish pursuit." It has enabled him to succeed alongside of the white man, from the scorching heat of Africa to the Arctic climate of North America. The Negro has worked and waited and got what he has gone after from the days before the Egyptian pyramids were built.

Their optimism and kindliness shine through their songs. Prof. Work of Fisk University says the "spirituals" that "grew" during the generations under slavery and serfdom breathe hope, love, faith, triumph, sorrow, but no word or note of despair, malice, or revenge. The hopefulness of the slaves for freedom in the darkest days is equaled by the enthusiasm of their descendents for opportunity to achieve. One Southern white man has aptly expressed what many are seeing: "It is not possible to work with these people and not feel for them sympathy, admiration, and respect. The sacrifices they are making for the education and enlightenment of their people, their kindly disposition, and the sincere appreciation they show for the smallest service rendered them, their patience, the philosophical way they generally take discourtesy and brusque treatment, their cheerfulness even in adversity—all of these things make it a source of

never-ceasing wonder to me that for so many years I lived among these people and knew them not, that for so many years I saw in them only the faults that are bred of ignorance, depravity, and neglect and not the inherent good qualities with which our Almighty Creator has endowed them."[1]

Rising tide of race consciousness. In addition to these characteristic reactions, the Negro has acquired certain other feelings and attitudes, especially during the last fifty years, that should be noted in considering the Negro mind in relation to American life. In the first place, there is a rising tide of race consciousness, the manifestation of a people becoming aware of its own intrinsic worth. Less than a generation ago the Negro physician in competition with white doctors had uphill work to secure patients. To-day the Negro doctor has almost an exclusive monopoly because his people prefer him. A few years ago the white agents of insurance companies boasted about the ease with which they handled Negro clients in competition with Negro companies and their agents. To-day, with three Negro insurance companies writing whole life policies and two score selling the small industrial policies, the Negro agent, if he chose, might boast of his advantage over his white competitor. A large Southern insurance company catering to Negroes so fully recognized this change in the situation that it is employing a Negro field executive, and he is building up a Negro agency force. Negro policemen are now recognized as a distinct asset in preserving law and order in Negro neighborhoods.

This race consciousness has further manifested itself in an increasing appreciation Negroes have of their productions, Negro music—folk-songs, other songs, anthems,

[1] L. M. Favrot, quoted in *Fisk University News*.

and orchestral scores composed by Negroes are sung, played, and enjoyed by Negroes. They are praising and patronizing their players, playwrights, and poets, and are rehearsing the stories of their "unsung heroes" to their children. Negro scholars are now beginning to dig from the archives of history the records of Negro culture and civilization in Africa when Egypt was young and before Babylon was built. Out of all this are coming faith in themselves, visions of their possibilities, and efforts to cultivate their unique powers and gifts to produce what other people may some day gladly receive.

With the consciousness of racial worth comes the recognition of racial restrictions in the denial of the rights and opportunities accorded other Americans. This is producing resentment and the first signs of spreading vindictive feeling seen after nearly three hundred years under the yoke of American serfdom. This feeling has been showing itself in a belief among Negroes that they must fight and contend to secure citizenship rights. They recite many incidents leading to their belief when they discuss their experience. To what extent contention instead of coöperation is a necessary part of their struggle for increasing American opportunities is yet to be determined. It is evident, in any case, that they believe that they are being forced to fight and contend, and there is growing up in the minds of many a belief in the necessity and the efficacy of the methods of contention and fighting to attain the chances of free Americans. Here issues the call to those who believe in brotherly coöperation to reach out hands as did the Man of Galilee to even the lowliest and thus let them understand that the children of God are the peacemakers among the races.

Increasing resentment and suspicion. To paint only the bright and sunny side, however, would not give a

complete picture of the feeling and thought among Negroes. There are shadows in the background. One of these is the Negro's increasing distrust and suspicion of white people. Negroes generally, from field hands to professors, from porters to preachers, have ceased to speak their inner feelings and thoughts to white people, except to the few who, they believe, listen with full sympathy. Certain Negro men and women when seeking favors or when terrorized by intimidation are led to share partially with white people their real feelings and attitude. This dissimulation is the sequel of the suppression of free speech and freedom of action. Daily commerce between the races has many of the outward marks of amity and peace because the Negro is not militant minded. He makes no direct attack upon those he distrusts or fears. At the first opportunity, however, "he folds his tent like the Arab" and as silently moves away.

Of late years, especially during the World War, the statements of white people in newspapers, periodicals, and patriotic addresses on the blessings of a safe democracy have been weighed by Negroes in the light of their effect upon the restricted conditions of daily life surrounding them. The result is a questioning of the sincerity of those professions and the professors. Educated Negro idealists are not the only ones who have been inclined to regard these pronouncements as "gestures." In the Negro world, such opinions and feelings travel rapidly by means of the "grape-vine telegraph." That informal, unorganized, wireless system by means of which ideas, facts, and feelings travel like electric currents from one Negro neighborhood to another, still functions to-day as in past generations. It carries from the most intelligent the essence of feelings and attitudes from both inside and outside the Negro world to the illiterate, even to the

most remote Negro cabin and community. The Negro is a genius as a listener and a past master in the ancient and effective art of talking.

It is a step backward for America, by its pressure upon Negroes, to allow them to conclude that they should adopt the dying doctrine of settlement of race relations and interests by force, either the brutal force of physical power or the inhuman force of economic and political pressure. Such a step is a failure to embrace the new spirit which rises out of the hearts of men, which enters into economic relations, into political and legal relations, into intellectual relations, and which sets men free because it baptizes them with the consciousness that each man is his brother's helper. It is a challenge to Christians to show concretely that comity and coöperation are the methods by means of which the relations of men may be adjusted so that all in America may have "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." To this "new emancipation," as expressed by the author in another place,[1] the Negro can make "a contribution of the heart, of emotion, of passion, of song, of music. Laughter and a light heart, patience and good cheer, enthusiasm and faith—these are the priceless things this old world has longed for and the new age will prize."

The Negro as a contributor to American social consciousness. America may create the mental atmosphere in which the Negro may go on growing in social and spiritual consciousness and thus retain his hold upon and develop such traits of mind and spirit as have been outlined above, or she may repress him until he loses much of them in the pain and sweat of a circumscribed, half-free, hunted life. If stimulated, he may develop the

[1] "The New Emancipation," *Southern Workman*, Oct., 1920.

friendly feelings and attitudes which will contribute to the spirit of social responsibility being born anew into America and into the world.

The development of such social consciousness among Negroes may be easier than among other elements of our varied population. Negroes have no past history in America of social castes based upon birth or bank account. All classes of Negroes are yet closely bound together by the bonds of common sufferings. There are among them no wealthy capitalists. The professional classes are relatively small in proportion to the total Negro population. Ministers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and all others numbered less than seventy thousand in 1910 amid a population of nearly ten millions. They are, however, very influential with the entire people and keenly conscious of their obligations to serve and guide their people. There are no wide gulfs of education, wealth, or birth fixed between the lowliest laborer and the highest leader. And the descriptions of their mental achievement just recited show deep fellow-feeling, friendly attitudes, and coöperative ways of acting.

It seems very practicable, therefore, before any such fixed differences of class arise among Negroes, to save them from many of the shortcomings of other parts of our nation, and so to organize and to stimulate them that the business and professional classes may develop their present sense of responsibility to the wage-earning classes and spread a group solidarity, a feeling of social responsibility, throughout the whole people. If white America in city and country, North and South, shall catch a vision of the possible development through neighborliness and justice extended to these people and will coöperate with Negroes who for three centuries have shown themselves able to coöperate, such a development of community

helpfulness among Negroes in local communities throughout many states will undoubtedly bring a distinct and rich contribution to the larger life of America. In addition to the overflow of their music, their poetry, their religious faith and fervor, their loyalty, their tolerance, and their cheerfulness and humor, what an enrichment to the higher thinking and feeling of the world may be brought to pass! The deep emotional and mental fervor of the Negro may show America and the world a new meaning of Christian brotherhood.

Survival of superstition and backwardness. An unfavorable symptom of Negro life in contact with current American opinion is the continuance of many of the old superstitions among the rank and file, such as are common to other ignorant people in America and elsewhere. The majority of these people, because of the tardy development of public schools for them, are still denied the view of the noble scroll of knowledge. In the past half century the Negro has struggled hard to free himself from ignorance and her twin offspring—superstition and poverty, but to many, the "rabbit foot" or voodoo bag about the neck or in the pocket is still a good luck token to ward off enemies and disease and to bring prosperity. Malaria and typhoid are still attributed to exposure to "night air." The paralyzing fear of beliefs in ghosts and haunted houses and places is still a millstone to progress.

Lack of thrift and industry is also a shortcoming which cannot be denied. Where lie the cause and the remedy? Mrs. Hammond, a discerning white woman, aptly says:[1] "The two great assets of any country are the land and the people; and the people necessarily include those engaged in agriculture. . . . In cities and factories we are

[1] Hammond, L. H., *In Black and White,* pp. 56, 58 ff.

finding that it pays, in dollars and cents, to care for 'the (white) human end of the machine.' It will pay in the country, too, and when the human end is black. Christ's law of brotherhood is universal in its workings, or it is no law at all."

The development of racial self-respect. Another shortcoming has frequently been placed at the door of the Negro. Enemies and some friends complain that Negroes show a lack of belief in their own race; that apparently their highest ambition is to be white. These criticisms apparently have basis in fact. They overlook, however, three cardinal conditions which Negroes confront. First, Negroes are surrounded by white people, ten to one, whose idea of physical beauty is a white skin, sharp features, and straight hair. By a well known principle of group psychology the individuals in the minority tend to conform to the ideas and habits of the majority. David Livingstone, Dan Crawford, in his book, *Thinking Black,* and many other missionaries have testified that Africans regard Europeans as sickly, unnatural, and ugly, and in some tribes the devil is represented by white images. Black skin and native features are to them beautiful. Stanley said he blushed at his repulsion to the pale color of Europeans when he came out of the African forests where he had seen only dark skins and the "richer bronze color."[1] It is significant that with the growing color consciousness among American Negroes, they are even buying Negro dolls for their children and are setting up race ideas of beauty in America.

In the second place, whoever has observed and reflected upon facts open to everyday inspection knows

[1] Stanley, Henry M., *Through the Dark Continent,* Vol. II, pp. 462-65.

that, on the one hand, to have a white skin or to be known as a white man or woman is to have an open door to whatever ability and effort can achieve. On the other hand, to be dark-skinned or to be known as a Negro, is to be looked down upon and to be discounted by those who hold the key to the American kingdom of achievement. This was a barrier to advancement of Negroes which even such superior achievements as those of Booker Washington did not remove. It does not take a Negro philosopher to conclude that the world of advantage in America is on the side of him who approaches the appearance of the accepted white type. Negroes have had many of their attempts to set up their own standards blown to the winds by derision. The wonder is not that a few of them want to be white, but rather, that the race has so persistently clung to racial ideas and excellencies through so many generations.

Finally, much of the white man's notion of what the Negro aspires to be is either an imaginative white man's construction of what he conjectures he would strive for, were he a Negro, or it is what some Negro has let the white gather in response to leading questions. The human mind is habitually seeing the thoughts and feelings of others in terms of its own. The Negro is a master in responding to the white man according to the latter's wishes. The Negro already has a feeling for his own kind which draws the thousands together and holds them, just as similar feeling does Italians, Jews, Greeks, and others. What will give the Negro most impetus to a racial "self-sufficiency" is no longer to make a white skin the passport to free American opportunity, but to accord merit in a dark skin its just rewards.

What the Negro wants. There have been among the Negro people those men of intelligence and vision, if

not always of learning, who have not bowed the knee to Baal, to the popular superstitions and whims, personal lust of wealth, or the conflicting currents of interracial confusion. Often they have gathered up and expressed the desires of their people for some of the substantial things of American life. These expressions of desire come from Negroes of all occupations and walks of life —workers in mines and factories, porters in stores and hotels, drivers, hackmen, and trucksters, farmers, tenants, and farm hands, tradesmen, business men, doctors, lawyers, teachers, housewives, and ministers.

First, Negroes have a yearning for education, a desire profound in its reach, appealing in its sacrifices, and tragic in its blighted opportunities. The story of their struggles to get an equitable share of public school funds, their willingness to contribute out of their poverty to their private educational institutions and to supplement what they get from the public treasury for school buildings and the lengthening of school terms is an epic awaiting its Homer. They feel keenly when blamed for not having what they have never had a chance to secure. Day-schools, night-schools, vacation schools, summer schools, and their limited colleges are always overcrowded. There is a perennial cry, "To know, to know; to do, to do; to achieve, to achieve."

Second, Negroes have demonstrated, especially when changes like the World War have pushed ajar the doors of equal opportunity to work at just wages and under fair conditions, that they desire a chance to get work and to hold it upon the same terms as other workers. They ask to be freed from the system of debt peonage in its differing forms, both that by which the courts are accustomed to farm out prisoners to private employers who pay their fines, and that by which workers cannot

leave one plantation for another so long as any debt remains unpaid. They ask for an armistice in the tacit arrangement of lower wages for the same work, restriction to advancement in occupation, etc., by means of which they are denied the legitimate fruit which other men are given for their labor.

Third, they want a chance to play, too, when the day's work is done; to play unmolested by law officers seeking by "framed up" gaming bouts to fatten upon fees and fines, "arrestin' fifty fer what one of us done." They want play places where, in recreation and amusement, they and their children may stretch their legs as well as their spirits in wholesome mirth and music. Like other workers they want sufficient wages, reasonable hours and a standard of living which will leave mind and body in vigor. They want good houses in which to live, good roads, well-paved streets, sanitation, fire and police protection, and other facilities which every modern neighborhood now considers necessary to wholesome living.

Fourth, another Negro want has probably been well expressed by an unlettered Southern Negro farmer. Speaking before a large audience of Negroes who were in conference with some of their representative white neighbors, he said, in answer to a question from a prominent white business man who was the presiding officer: "And, sir, we wants to help say who governs us." The officer replied that the liberal-minded white men of his state proposed that their desire should be satisfied. In an open letter to the Constitutional Convention of Louisiana in 1898, Booker T. Washington said: "Any law controlling the ballot, that is not absolutely just and fair to both races, will work more permanent injury to the whites than to the blacks. The Negro does not object

to an education or property test, but let the law be so clear that no one clothed with state authority will be tempted to perjure and degrade himself by putting one interpretation upon it for the white man and another for the black man."

Fifth, through painful years of experience Negroes have come to feel as one man that they want to be more secure in their persons and their property and be free from the discriminations and restrictions that seem to them so unnecessary and to have no foundation in right or reason. Burnings and lynchings of innocent persons leave the average Negro with an uneasy feeling that a mob may perchance take him during any excitement. Experience has taught many that in a legal controversy with a white man he and his property are at great disadvantage.

Sixth, Negroes are beginning to ask for the removal of the habitual thought and action which regards and treats them as something less than men and women. They do not phrase it in just those words, but their actions speak louder than words. Experience with and observation of thousands of domestic workers, unskilled and semiskilled laborers in employment placement work has heightened the author's estimation of these people's belief in their own personality: their belief that they are ends in themselves and, along with other people, should have a chance to eat, dress, and live and enjoy some of the happiness which they work to furnish to others. In the upper grades of intelligence these feelings and attitudes express themselves in demands for schools, libraries, newspapers, art, music, and many other means of self-development.

Finally, the Negro wishes to be at peace with all men. He is a man of peace. He has learned war only when

taught or when forced to defend himself. He sooner submits to oppressive force than he inflicts it. And he asks, as a citizen, to be left free to laugh and to sing, to play and to pray, to work and to talk, to love and to live with other Americans.

Growing dependence of Negroes upon their own leaders. The separation of the races has more and more left Negroes in a group isolation. They have thus been thrown back upon their own leaders for knowledge and guidance. Negroes, too, both as individuals and in their organizations, are beginning to insist upon the privilege to choose their own leaders. They say only leaders of their choice can voice their wishes. Many of these leaders have been without the opportunity for training in the best and deepest things of our civilization. There is, however, an increasing number of consecrated Negro men and women of character who have a following of their own people and who are serving them faithfully. There are, of course, some without a well developed social conscience, who have more ability and shrewdness than character. White men have too frequently either used them for their own purposes or have been deceived by them as mediators between the races. The Negro needs leaders, sane and unselfish and trained in all the learning of the Egyptians, the Europeans, and the Americans, and in all the ideals of the Christ. For they not only lead ten millions of Negro Americans, they not only may become ambassadors to the black millions of Africa, but they are and will be among the mediators of the white and darker races in the most difficult problems mankind has to face in the future. The Christians of America have an unyielding obligation to open avenues of training for these leaders of the future.

The Negro and the interracial mind. The preced-

ing discussion has tried to set before the view some of the habitual feelings, attitudes, and ways of acting of the Negro mind. Connected with these goes another racial characteristic of supreme significance in race relations. The long centuries of concentration by Negroes upon personal relations rather than property possessions, the responsiveness of their minds to "other regarding" impulses rather than the "self-regarding," have produced temperaments eminently ready to enter with unconscious self-forgetfulness into the purposes, plans, and aspirations of other peoples. Negro people readily subordinate their own economic and material cultural advantage to their pleasure in helping to advance other groups that have won their confidence, affection, and admiration. The rank and file of Negroes seem to have come to this spontaneously. The Negro has a self and a soul, of the depth and mystery of which a white observer becomes aware only once in a great while.[1]

It was upon such fertile soil as this that the seed of the missionary education of the past sixty years with its ideals of high thinking and unselfish living fell and brought forth fruit. A type of Negro has developed with an interracial mind and soul passionately responsive to ideals beyond the bartering commercialism of the hour. Most of his idealistic missionary teachers were far ahead of their times in practical application of ideals of interracial brotherhood and service. The Negro student whom they inspired is now trying, sometimes with heart-breaking rebuffs to his sincerity, to apply ideals imbibed from his teachers. He values truth more than tact and places downright honesty of dealing above diplomacy. He

[1] Murphy, E. G., *Basis of Ascendency*, pp. 79-81; Stribling, T. S., "West Indian Nights," New York *Evening Post*, March 25 and 31, 1922.

eschews the oldtime Negro's dissimulation and the white man's method of "gesturing" toward one thing when he intends to do another.

Many times this type of Negro finds himself in the Garden, his sometime fellow-workers gone, and the cohorts of the enemy or pseudo friends led by some Judas of his own race coming with the swords hidden behind fair words and friendly greetings that do not disguise to the penetrating soul the real purpose of the posse. Only those who have prayed while drops of sweat ran down, emerge from such experiences still calm of mind and possessed of soul. Some of them, like Peter of old, curse and swear and retaliate with the use of the sword. Others either die spiritually in despair or, in disgust, quit the quest for the higher achievements and become mere seekers after the lesser things offered by the material god, Money.

There is still such spontaneous altruism in the souls of black folk, in spite of the centuries of exploitation, that America may have a demonstration of the democratic coöperation the future holds for peoples and races which can share the purposes and aspiration each of the other. White Christians who long and strive for that better day will find allies among these dark skinned disciples. America, however, has to awake and remove the barriers to the development of the interracial mind of the Negro and the Caucasian. The Spirit that became flesh will then live reincarnate among them.

CHAPTER IV

The Negro's Offering to the Stars and Stripes

If one goes to Boston Common he sees there a monument bearing the name of Crispus Attucks, the first martyr of the American Revolution. He was a Negro, a former slave. From the time of the controversies with the French in Colonial days to the latest exploits of the World War, besides all other types of devotion in America, Negroes have paid the supreme price of liberty. If any one doubts the devotion to country and the love of liberty of the Negro, he has only to spend a few hours in searching the records of American history to be convinced that his doubts are ill founded and that these people, although denied the full boon themselves, have given themselves in full measure for the justice and liberty which America promises to all who seek her shores.

In the War of the Revolution. Negroes were in practically every white regiment during the Revolutionary War. A Hessian officer after marching through Massachusetts said, "No regiment is to be seen in which there are not Negroes in abundance." Bancroft, the historian, says that there were names of men of color on the rolls of the army at Cambridge from its first formation, that Negroes stood in the ranks with the white soldiers in the militia of different colonies, and that black men were retained in the service under the Continental Congress.

Under General Washington's immediate command, in August, 1778, there are reported to have been 775 Negroes, and it is estimated that there were 4,000 in the Continental Army. A company of Negroes fought at

the Battle of Bunker Hill. Peter Salem, a Negro, when other patriots stood dismayed, fired the shot that mortally wounded Major Pitcairn, leader of the British forces, and thus turned the tide of battle. Solomon Poor during the same engagement won the commendation of the principal officers, who later entered a petition in the Massachusetts Assembly asking recognition for him. A regiment of free men of color fought courageously at the battle of Rhode Island in August, 1778. The Black Legion, a contingent of soldiers from Santo Domingo, by covering the retreat and repulsing the British at Savannah, Ga., October 9, 1779, saved the American and French Armies from defeat.[1]

At the commencement of the Revolutionary War the question of using Negroes for service was one of no small moment. At first the Continental Congress voted that no slaves or free Negroes should be enlisted. A council of war consisting of General Washington and Major Generals Ward, Lee, and Putnam and six Brigadier Generals after full discussion decided, October 8, 1775, "unanimously to reject all slaves, and by a great majority to reject Negroes altogether." During the same month a committee met in conference at Cambridge to consider the reorganization of the army. This committee decided that free Negroes and slaves were to be "rejected altogether."

The action of the Earl of Dunmore, Governor General of Virginia, however, in a proclamation of November 7, 1775, offering freedom to all indentured servants, Negroes, and others able and willing to bear arms if they should join His Majesty's troops, caused the

[1] Williams, G. W., *History of the Negro Race in America*, (2 vols.) is the main source of facts for the first ten pages of this chapter, except where others are cited.

Colonial leaders to change their policy. Alarmed at the British action, and without waiting for the action of the Continental Congress, on December 30, 1775, General Washington issued general orders authorizing the enlistment of free Negroes. The Continental Congress took no further action when notified by General Washington of what he had done. This new policy met immediate response from Negroes.

The attitude of the Southern colonists changed. Alexander Hamilton sent Colonel Laurens to John Jay, President of the Continental Congress, with a letter dated March 14, 1779, urging the organization of an army of Negro slaves in South Carolina, who should be emancipated upon completion of their service. He said, "It should be considered that if we do not make use of them in this way, the enemy probably will, and that the best way to counteract the temptations they hold out will be to offer them ourselves."[1] Free Negroes were allowed to enlist in Virginia regiments, and the temptation to slaves to declare themselves freedmen in order to enlist was so great that the Virginia legislature passed a law prohibiting recruiting officers from enrolling Negroes without certificates of freedom. James Armistead, a slave, was a scout for Lafayette in his Virginia campaign. Along with their white compatriots these black heroes fought and died for American independence, showing heroism at Bunker Hill, valor at Brandywine, fortitude at Valley Forge, and courage, enthusiasm, and endurance in every engagement down to Saratoga and Yorktown, where Cornwallis surrendered. Can justice in America deny their descendants the full meed of their sacrifices?

[1] Johnson, E. A., *School History of the Negro Race in America*, pp. 58-60.

In the conflict of 1812. In the War of 1812 Negroes were used in both the land and naval forces. The achievements of the Negro in the Revolutionary War and the lack of troops left no room for debate as to the utility of Negro troops in this second encounter. Commander Nathaniel Shaler praised the heroism of black tars on his armed schooner, and Perry praised their heroism on Lake Erie. New York passed an act authorizing the raising of two regiments of Negro troops October 24, 1814, and 2,000 men of color were enlisted and sent to the army at Brackett's Harbor. The most notable service was performed by Negro troops under Major General Andrew Jackson at New Orleans. Jackson commanded the Eighth Military District with headquarters at Mobile, Alabama. He issued an appeal to the free Negro inhabitants, confessing a mistaken policy in heretofore depriving them of participation in the "glorious struggle for national rights in which our country is engaged." He promised the same bounty in money and land as to white soldiers, and that while he would select white commissioned officers for them, non-commissioned officers would be chosen from their ranks.

On Sunday, December 18, 1814, just before the Battle of New Orleans, General Jackson reviewed his Negro contingent and delivered to them an address which is such a remarkable statement that it demands full quotation here:

"To the men of color:—Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms; I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war.

I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to these qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds.

"Soldiers! The President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct on the present occasion, and the voice of the representatives of the American nation shall applaud your valor as your general now praises your ardor. The enemy is near. His sails cover the lakes. But the brave are united; and if he finds us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valor and fame, its noblest reward."

In the Civil War. The service of the Negroes in this struggle is so well known that only a brief statement is necessary. It is estimated that more than 180,000 Negro soldiers were enlisted in the Union Army and that thousands of slaves and some free Negroes were drafted as non-combatants on the Confederate side, with a promise of freedom to those slaves who survived. The Confederate Congress passed a law February 7, 1864, requiring that all male free Negroes and other persons of color then resident in the Confederate States, between the ages of 18 and 50, except those who were free under the treaty of Paris, 1803, and under the treaty of Spain, 1819, should be liable for duty in the army in connection with building of military defenses, work upon fortifications, in military hospitals, and in other work. Provision was made in the law for exemption by the Secretary of State for such as he thought needed it on grounds of "justice, equity, or necessity." The use of Negroes as soldiers, however, was debated by Confederate leaders. Finally, on March 13, 1865, the Confederate Congress passed an Act to use Negroes "to perform military service in whatever capacity he (the President) may direct." But the

close of the conflict came before the plan could be carried out.[1]

During the first two years of the war, President Lincoln declined to use Negroes as soldiers. He held to this policy under strong pressure. General Butler was about the first to use Negro troops, drawn from the free Negroes of New Orleans who volunteered. There were many colored creoles in New Orleans whose forbears had been free. Some were descendants of soldiers who had fought under General Andrew Jackson. Some of the officers of these militiamen accepted an invitation to visit the General. The result was that they readily agreed to form regiments of free Negroes. Two weeks later, August 22, 1862, when General Butler went down to the place where he had ordered the troops to gather, a unique sight struck his eyes: "2,000 men ready to enlist as recruits, not a man of them who had not a white 'biled shirt' on." [2] In less than a month's time, a full regiment of free Negroes entered the army of the United States; another was accepted October 12, 1862, a third regiment of infantry, November 24, and a regiment of heavy artillery was mustered in November 29, 1862. They were called the First, Second, and Third Infantry Corps d'Afrique, respectively, and the First Regiment Heavy Artillery Corps d'Afrique.

The state of Kansas, however, organized the first regiment of Northern Negro troops. The first Kansas colored volunteers were mustered in January 4, 1863, at Fort Scott. The 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry was completed April 12 of that year. Frederick Douglass

[1] Wesley, Charles H., "Employment of Negroes as Soldiers in the Confederate Army," *Journal of Negro History,* Vol. IV, No. 3, July, 1919.

[2] Washington, Booker T., *Story of the Negro,* Vol. I, p. 322.

and a number of other prominent colored men assisted in the recruiting work.

The raising of the first regiments was not without much misgiving on the part of many of the friends of the Negro, and not without opposition on the part of those who did not favor the use of Negroes as soldiers. The experiment was started, however, and theoretical objections had to await the test of experience. The first large experience came with the South Carolina Negro volunteers under the noted Colonel Higginson who was sent upon an expedition to occupy Jacksonville, Florida. Some of the hostile newspapers prophesied that the Negro troops would burn the city and outrage the inhabitants. They landed quietly, however, marched through the city streets in perfect order, committed no excesses of any kind. In writing of his Florida expedition Colonel Higginson said, "In every instance my troops came off with unblemished honor and undisputed triumph."

The Negro troops saw their first real fighting at the battle of Fort Hudson, May 27, 1863. These troops were the first and second Louisiana Native Guards, recruited under General Butler. After an all night's march and an hour's rest they were ordered to take a place on the right of the charging line. From early morning until three-thirty in the afternoon, amid hideous carnage, they charged six or seven times in trying to take a fortified bluff beyond a deep ravine. A correspondent of the *New York Times,* on the ground, said: "The deeds of heroism performed by these colored men were such as the proudest white men might emulate. Their colors were torn to pieces by shots and literally bespattered with blood and brain."

The teachable nature of the Negro, his endurance, his

hopefulness, his enthusiasm, his songs when marching, his quick imitative powers in learning military drill and discipline, and his cheerfulness, which knew no discouragement, made him an asset. In less than six months after the first regiments were mustered in, he had taken part in five engagements and, as the *New York Times* said, "In some instances they acted with distinguished bravery, and in all they acted as well as could be expected of raw troops." The effect upon the country of such conduct of Negro troops in these engagements was so electrical that it settled the question of ability as a soldier and of their employment in the Union Army.

Another illustration will indicate the character of their services for liberty. The action of the 54th Massachusetts at Fort Wagner has been recounted in song and story. After two days' marching through marshes, swollen streams, rain and darkness, with one day's rest, the regiment was thrown into line. As darkness fell on the 18th of July, 1863, they were ordered to make double quick time in the charge upon the fort. They planted their flag upon the ramparts, held it there half an hour, and with their beloved Colonel Robert Gould Shaw cold in death upon the field, retired only when relieved by a second division. Corporal Carney, the Negro color bearer, though wounded severely in the thigh and shoulders, held his flag upon the parapet until his regiment was relieved. It was after this exploit that he made the famous remark, when returning to the hospital nearly exhausted from the loss of blood, "Boys, the old flag never touched the ground." With similar heroism and enthusiasm, from Petersburg and Nashville, down to the end of the struggle, Negro soldiers bore the burden in the heat of the battle and demonstrated by their sacrifices that they and theirs deserved a place as free citizens.

In the Spanish-American War. Among the first troops who went forward in the Spanish-American War in 1898, were the famous Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantries, all Negro troops of the Regular Army. The Tenth Cavalry distinguished itself at the first battle in Cuba by coming to the rescue of Colonel Roosevelt and his Rough Riders. The Colonel publicly expressed his appreciation of their valor. In this famous battle of El Caney the Negro troops, as they went up the hill to the Spanish blockhouse, sang, "There'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town To-night." A Negro officer of the Twenty-fourth Infantry was the first man to enter the blockhouse. It was he who hauled down the Spanish flag.

Colonel Leonard Wood, when Chief of Staff in 1914, wrote: "I served with the Tenth Cavalry years ago as a junior officer, and have had it with me in various parts of the world, including the United States, Cuba, and the Philippines . . . the discipline and general performance of duty by these regiments have been very creditable." [1] Besides those of the regular army, there were a number of volunteer regiments from Indiana, Illinois, and other states. Following the Spanish-American War, two colored regiments with colored captains and lieutenants, went to the Philippines and did valiant service.

Negro citizenship. By the time of the Spanish-American War, the experience of a generation of freedmen had thrown the light of the years upon the question of Negro citizenship. Before the outbreak of the World War the country was beginning to be fully conscious of the national problem in race relations. Therefore, before entering the new period ushered in by the World War,

[1] From letter quoted in *The Black Soldier* by Mary Curtis, p. 34.

S. BAPTIST SEMINARY L. R. K. C. K.

the question of the citizenship of the Negro may well be reviewed as it then stood.

Under Federal laws any distinction defined on the basis of race is also a legal discrimination because Federal law theoretically knows no race, color, or creed. In the words of the Supreme Court,[1] "The Constitution of the United States in its present form forbids, so far as civil and political rights are concerned, discrimination by the general government, or by the states, against any citizen because of his race. All citizens are equal before the law. The guarantees of life, liberty, and property are for all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States, or of any state, without discrimination against any because of their race."

The civic status of the Negro has gradually grown up through the years. It has been a long, long way from the status of the slave to that of freedman. The old legal status of the Negro slave can probably be best illustrated by the celebrated case of Dred Scott. It was Scott's contention that Sanford, his Missouri master, could not restrain him as a slave in Missouri when he attempted to return to the free soil of Illinois. In deciding the case, the United States Supreme Court declared that persons of African descent were not constituent members of the Sovereign people and "that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'Citizen' in the Constitution and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States."

The Court held further that citizenship conferred by states after the adoption of the Constitution did not carry with it citizenship in the United States or any of the rights, privileges, or immunities of citizens of other

[1] Case of Strauder vs. West Virginia, 100 U. S. 103.

states, should a person move from one state to another. Some of the Justices of the Court both dissented from the law and challenged the facts of the majority opinion of the Court; but the majority prevailed. This decision of the United States Supreme Court was soon followed by fugitive slave laws which permitted slave owners to go into free territory, claim persons as their runaway slaves, and carry them back to slave territory. With some alterations of details this was the status of the Negro slave until the Emancipation Proclamation.

Free persons of color in slave states were better off to a limited extent than slaves. By 1860, there were 434,000 free Negroes in the United States, 260,000 of them in the South. They were exempt from involuntary servitude. They could go freely from place to place within most states, provided they had their free papers to present to any one who questioned them. But the restrictions increased following the Nat Turner insurrection in 1832, particularly as to free assemblage. The free person of color had more legal right of protection of his person from injury under the law than a slave had. In practise, however, the slave had protection through his master. Free Negroes in Northern states gradually achieved the right to hold property, to move freely from place to place, to protection in the courts and, in some states, to free exercise of the franchise.

The Emancipation Proclamation and the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution made enslavement no longer legal, giving the Negro legal rights as a citizen and making him legally a man instead of a thing. In practical operation, however, it has been a long process to get the old habits of daily life changed and to introduce the legal principles into the practises of everyday relations.

Friction due to exercise of the franchise. The exercise of the franchise guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment has been one of the factors of the Negro's status as a citizen which has brought the most discussion, controversy, and friction. Whatever may have been the mistakes of the past, we cannot avoid facing the conditions of the present which are laden with the issues of the future. A leading Southerner has said in print: "We are agreed that there ought to be a limit on the right to vote and hold office; but we ought also to agree that whatever limitation is imposed should appeal to the sense of exact justice and fairness to all the persons involved." The most thoughtful citizens have expressed the view that any control of the franchise which does not administer its exercise justly without regard to race or sex will do more injury to the white citizens than to the black ones. Taxation without representation is as dangerous and as unjust now as ever.

The relation of the Negro to the constabulary and the courts is also vital for all. The ignorant, the weak, and thoughtless of any national or racial group in America probably suffers much injustice when in the hands of the average police and lower courts. To this is added, in the case of the Negro, suspicion which falls upon him because of his race. A murder, an assault, a burglary, or a robbery is committed in a community. A general presumption is that some one from among the Negroes did it. Upon the slightest suspicion a Negro may be arrested, lodged in jail, and, if he lacks influential white friends or the means to employ an able lawyer, held for weeks and months.[1] He is sometimes taken and lynched without trial. The fee system, with its jus-

[1] Hammond, L. H., *In Black and White,* pp. 46-52.

tices of the peace, petty magistrates, and constables, dependent for their pay upon their part of the fines and fees levied upon defendants, have been a source of continued abuse for many years in many communities. Added to this has been a widespread custom of handing over those convicted in trials before such petty courts, to planters, farmers, and others who pay their fines and court costs. They are allowed to hold the prisoners until they "work out" the amount paid for them often with the addition of the "keep" of the prisoner. Such a system leads to peonage and other evils.

In some of the states the right of jury service irrespective of race is accorded citizens, but in others the question had not been settled in practise. In 1879, the right of Negro male citizens to serve on juries was fully established by the Supreme Court of the United States. A Negro named Strauder appealed for the removal of his case to the United States Circuit Court on the ground that he had been denied a trial by a freely chosen jury of his peers, because he had been convicted of murder by a jury from which colored men had been excluded. In deciding this case in favor of Strauder, the Supreme Court of the United States held that the Fourteenth Amendment secures among other civil rights to colored persons charged with criminal offenses an impartial trial by jurors indifferently selected without discrimination against such jurors because of their color. The court held:

"That where the state statute secures to every white man the right of trial by jury selected from, and without discrimination against, his race, and at the same time permits or requires such discrimination against the colored man because of his race, the latter is not equally protected by law with the former. . . .

"The guarantees of life, liberty, and property are for all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States, or of any state, without discrimination against any because of their race. These guarantees, when their violation is properly presented in the regular course of proceedings, must be enforced in the courts, both of the nation and of the state, without reference to considerations based upon race." [1]

Another matter of transcending civic importance to every citizen is that of mob violence. This evil has grasped victims of other races in its clutches and has marked Negroes for particular attention. Mobs and lynchings, with the development of race riots, in later years, constitute a very great danger to all American life. In thirty years ending in 1920, 691 white men and 11 white women, 2,472 Negro men and 50 Negro women were lynched without trial. Less than one fifth of the Negro men were not even under suspicion of any kind of crime against women. Many of the Negroes were not charged with any crime at all. In a magazine article in 1912, Booker T. Washington said: [2] "In short, it is safe to say that a large proportion of the colored persons lynched are innocent. . . . In other cases it is known that where Negroes have committed crimes, innocent men have been lynched, and the guilty ones have escaped and gone on committing more crimes." The very foundations of law and government are challenged by this evil which makes the life and limb of Negro citizens unsafe. With such a citizenship status, the Negro arrived at the period of the World War.

[1] Strauder vs. West Virginia, 100 U. S. 303.
[2] Quoted in Scott and Stowe, *Booker T. Washington, Builder of a Civilization,* pp. 92-93.

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NEGRO REGIMENT, RETURNING FROM FRANCE, MARCHING ON FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

The readiness and promptness of the Negro's response to the call of his country showed that he was filled with the same feeling of patriotism and was ready to make the same sacrifices as his white fellow-citizens in the cause of world freedom.

In the World War. The story of the Negro in the army during the World War may be described first in four phases besides the fighting to which Negroes contributed so largely; namely, Negro music in the camps and in the army; the remarkable work done by the Negro labor battalions, particularly stevedore battalions, who were the marvel of the French in their loading and unloading of vessels; the coöperation of Negro agricultural and industrial workers at home in what was called the fourth line of defense; and the active participation in Red Cross work, Food Conservation and Health Campaigns, and in the buying of Liberty Bonds.

Non-combatant service. Wherever the Negro has gone, he has carried his music and his song. The plaintive melody and romping rhythm, the simple harmony and rollicking, syncopated "jazz" gained the attention of soldiers, black and white, everywhere, and set many a regiment moving its feet, exercising its lungs, and enlivening its spirit. The Negro folk-songs, the war songs, and the Negro band set many a community and camp agog with excitement. It is said that some of the highest officials of the French Army and government eagerly listened to Negro "jazz" music. Especially noteworthy in this connection was the band of Lieutenant James Reese Europe, a part of the 369th Infantry, the "Old Fifteenth New York." As soon as the regiment landed at Brest, France, Europe's band began to play and the populace began to dance. From there, wherever the band went during its stay in France, it gave joy and amusement to all who heard it. So popular was such music that some one coined the phrase, "Jazz won the war." The singing of Negro songs by Sergeant Noble Sissle, the drum major of the band, attracted attention on every

occasion, and he was effective in helping to interpret the music to French audiences.[1]

The first Negro stevedore battalion went to France in June, 1917, and before the end of the War there were about 50,000 in this branch of the army. They received the usual routine training of infantry. At the five French ports, Brest, St. Nazaire, Bordeaux, Havre, and Marseilles, the Negro stevedore regiments, working often amid the mud and the rain, sometimes in twenty-four hour shifts, laughing, frolicking, and singing all the time, became a sight for all who beheld them and won the admiration and praise of all who appreciated that they were holding the "third line of defense" behind the men in the trenches.

The story is told that when a French officer was asked about the unloading of vessels at Bordeaux, he estimated the amount of time in weeks. The American army, however, with its labor battalions and its stevedores working in shifts, night and day, built extensive docks and often unloaded vessels in from thirty-six to forty-eight hours. One observer reported that a company of Negro stevedores unloaded 1,200 tons of flour in nine and a half hours, setting a record for the A.E.F.; that the same group of stevedores for five days discharged an average of 2,000 tons a day for one shift of workers. Mr. Ralph Tyler, who was in France representing the Committee on Public Information at the time, wrote that in September, 1918, there were handled at the American base ports in France 767,648 tons, or a daily average of 25,588 tons, an increase of nearly ten per cent over August, and that the larger part of this

[1] Scott, E. J., *History of the Negro in the World War*, pp. 300–310. This work furnished considerable documentary data for this account of the Negro in the army during the World War.

material was handled by Negro stevedores. He remarked that "one who sees the (Negro) stevedores work notes with what rapidity and cheerfulness they work and what a very important cog they are in the war machinery." [1] Through all the long hours of toil the Negro stevedores went about their work with cheerfulness, with jokes and laughter, with singing and music and with all the high enthusiasm of Negro disposition.

An account of the non-combatant service would be incomplete without a statement about the unselfish, devoted, but far-reaching work of the Negro men and women who went overseas in the service of the Y.M.C.A. to give entertainment and encouragement and physical comfort to Negro soldiers, to inspire them with religious and patriotic guidance, and thus to keep up their morale. This organization maintained about fifty-five centers at various cantonments in the United States. Three hundred and fourteen Negro Secretaries served at home and sixty, including five women, went overseas. Their work comprised religious meetings, Bible classes, educational classes, in which thousands of illiterate recruits learned to read and write, athletic activities, moving picture and social entertainments, supplying suitable reading, stationery, stamps, and refreshments.

In agriculture and industry during the War. The Negro workers, men and women, in agriculture and industry, North and South, also took their part in the work of producing the food, the supplies, and the ships to win the war. They were among those who may be called the fourth line of defense.[2] In many parts of the South the cotton crop from which fabrics and explosives

[1] Quoted in Scott, E. J., work cited, p. 323.

[2] A report of "The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction" was issued by the U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Negro Economics.

were made depended upon the labor of Negro men, women, and children. They were engaged in the manufacture of ammunition and of iron and steel products, in meat packing, in the production of automobiles and trucks for army purposes, and in many other lines of labor required by the necessities of our task at the front in France. Negroes were called upon to supply about one fifth of the war laborers in the meat packing plants of Chicago and in several other places. There were 24,648 Negroes in forty-six of the fifty-five occupations incident to shipbuilding under the United States Shipping Board.

A Negro, Charles Knight, at the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation at Sparrow's Point, Maryland, broke the world's record for driving rivets in building steel ships. He drove 4,875 three-quarter inch rivets during one nine-hour day. A Negro pile-driving crew in building ship-ways at Hog Island, near Philadelphia, Pa., broke the world's record for driving piles. Negro miners in Alabama, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia, probably more than 75,000 strong, contributed in large measure toward supplying the fuel for factories and railroads and ships. Probably an additional 150,000 were actively assisting in the operation of the railroads, and still another 150,000 were serving to keep up other means of communication so vital to war production.

Negro women, besides their work in homes, in domestic service, and in providing for their men at their own homes, entered the lists of industrial war production workers. The Department of Labor, Women's Bureau (then the Women in Industry Service), with the coöperation of the Division of Negro Economics, sent special agents to visit 152 typical industrial plants employing

Negro women during the War. The facts showed[1] 21,547 Negro women employed in these plants in approximately 75 specific processes.

The Secretary of War drafted men, trained them as army officers, planned and sent them wherever he deemed wise. They had to obey. The Secretary of Labor had to mobilize our agricultural and industrial army, but he had no authority to draft workmen or compel them to stay upon any task. He had to depend upon their confidence and their enthusiasm for the cause. Yet, American men and women by the millions responded heartily to the call of the Secretary of Labor for full labor coöperation.

Negro economics during the War. In dealing with the matter of the coöperation of Negro workers, the Secretary recognized that, since they constituted about one seventh of the working army, their enthusiasm, confidence, and coöperation would be developed best by giving them representation at the council table where matters affecting them were being considered.

He therefore created the Division of Negro Economics in the office of the Secretary of Labor and appointed as Director of Negro Economics Dr. George E. Haynes, then Professor of Social Science at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. This step and appointment met with hearty endorsement of white and Negro citizens and organizations, North and South. The work of this official was to advise the Secretary and the heads of the several bureaus and divisions of the Department of Labor on policies and plans for improving the conditions of Negro workers and for securing their full coöperation

[1] Department of Labor Report, "The Negro at Work," etc., pp. 124-133.

with white workers and employers for maximum production.

The Secretary of Labor, with the advice of the Director of Negro Economics, adopted a plan for local county, city, and state Negro Workers' Advisory Committees composed of coöperating white employers, Negro workers, and, wherever possible, white workers, in order to develop racial understanding and good-will. These committees in counties and cities in eleven states were effective in preventing friction, antagonisms, and suspicions, in promoting the welfare of Negro workers, and in promoting coöperation for greater production. Negro officials known as Supervisors of Negro Economics under the general direction of the Director of Negro Economics were appointed in each state to assist the local citizens' committees. As the racial-labor problems which had to be met were local, the task was to get the local communities organized to meet them and at the same time to recognize the larger national needs and standards in dealing with local situations. State Conferences, arranged by the Director of Negro Economics through the coöperation of Governors, state directors of the United States Employment Service, and local employers and workers, and composed of representative white and Negro citizens, were held in twelve states.

Negro Workers Advisory Committees were established in eleven states and did work that had a far-reaching effect. For example, operations at an important port of debarkation for soldiers and for war supplies seemed to be facing a serious labor shortage due to the lethargy of workers. Local white citizens and officials adopted a plan to compel all men either to go to work or to jail. The chairman of the local Negro Workers Advisory Committee sought out the leaders of the work-or-jail

program. He proposed, instead of the jail program, a ten-day publicity and educational campaign by the Advisory Committee with appeals to Negro workers to rally to the labor needs of the occasion. One result from this campaign was applications for work from more Negro laborers than were needed. Other results gave a permanent city-wide racial coöperation on matters of common interest.

After listening to the report of a year's work of the Negro Workers Advisory Committee of North Carolina, the late Governor Bickett said, "If every man, white and black, in the United States could read and digest this report, it would go a great way toward solving all our race questions." White and Negro newspapers, small and large, North and South, carried many articles and editorials recounting and commending the results of this work fostered by the Department of Labor.

Negro women and the World War. Negro women were also in the volunteer work for war relief and other activities. Their spirit during the War is illustrated in what was said by the President of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, in a circular letter sent to all her co-workers: "It becomes our duty, first to renew the spirit of patriotism and loyalty in the hearts of our brave boys, who will, without doubt, be called to the front, and to comfort those whom they leave at home. . . . I shall urge you to do your best in the matter of food conservation, realizing that a great bulk of conservation lies in the kitchens of our country, where a million of our women are being called to service. I shall urge you to buy as many Liberty Bonds as possible, even if you are cramped in doing so. I shall urge members of our fraternal organizations to lend the Government any money that may be lying dormant in their

treasuries. I shall urge our women's organizations to watch over colored girls and women near camps, so that the social evil, so common in these camps, shall not be attributed to our women in any way."

Records of what the women did are very incomplete as many of their organizations were more intent upon doing the work than upon keeping statistics of it. The American Red Cross kept no separate records of Negro auxiliaries, of which there were many. The Negro women in their clubs, in the Red Cross, and Councils of Defense, with the white women in their organizations throughout the United States, carried through the registration for war work when a nation-wide enumeration was made at the call of the Council of National Defense, and shared in all the other remarkable work of women during the War period.

Perhaps no finer piece of work was done by Negro women during the war than that under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association. The War Work Council of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. set aside $400,000 of its $5,000,000 fund for war work, for work among Negro women. Fifteen hostess houses managed by Negro women were erected at different camps where Negro soldiers were in training. They enabled the wives, mothers, daughters, and friends of Negro soldiers to visit them under wholesome conditions. The Y.W.C.A. also carried out provisions to protect women and girls in communities near the camps. They put on a National Industrial Secretary who developed clubs of working girls to deal with their problems as wage earners and as members of the home life of the community. The work of war nursing and war relief was a phase that appealed especially to Negro women. They had one of their greatest trials to get the oppor-

tunity to serve as nurses. It is to be regretted that nursing divisions of the American Red Cross never saw fit to utilize the service of Negro women to serve overseas, where they might have rendered invaluable service among the thousands of sick and wounded Negro soldiers. In June, 1918, the Secretary of War did admit Negro nurses for service in the army camps at home. Many months before, the President of the National Association of Graduate Nurses had reported and offered to the Government the services of a thousand Negro women nurses.

In Liberty Loan and food campaigns. It is impossible to get the figures for an exact estimate of the total amount of subscriptions of Negroes to Liberty Bonds. From individual records like those which follow, it has been estimated that Negroes contributed to the Liberty Loans and War Work Drives more than $250,000,000, an average of about $25 for every Negro man, woman, and child in the United States. Secretary McAdoo of the United States Treasury made public acknowledgment of the whole-souled coöperation of the Negro people throughout the country [1] in connection with the effort of raising liberty loans.[2] There were many Negroes of small means whose gifts, though not large in amounts, represented the spirit of readiness to give their all for liberty and democracy for which they believe their country stands. Mary Smith, a Negro cook in Memphis, Tenn., was approached by her mistress with a request to buy a $100 bond. She replied: "I don't want no little hundred dollar bond, I want a thousand dollar bond and I'll pay cash for it." This sum represented her lifetime savings. Richard Priestly, a Negro farmer in Georgia

[1] See Scott, E. J., work cited, p. 358.
[2] Figures taken mainly from the *Negro Year Book*, pp. 45-50.

who had sent two sons to the War, bought a thousand dollar bond and thus put fresh spirit into the local campaign.

Thomas Brown, an ex-slave, living in Texas, seventy-five years old, accumulated $50 as a wood chopper and doing chores and invested in a Liberty Bond. A nine year old boy of San Antonio, Texas, saved more than five thousand pennies and invested them in a Liberty Bond. Negro women in a tobacco factory in Norfolk, Va., were reported to have subscribed $91,000 to Liberty Bonds.

The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company purchased over $300,000 of bonds and thrift stamps. The Standard Life Insurance Company of Atlanta invested $50,000 in bonds; the Atlanta Insurance Company, $52,000, and the United Insurance Company of New Orleans, $10,000.

Following the Third Liberty Loan Drive, the United States Treasury Department awarded first place among all the banks of the United States to a Negro bank, the Mutual Savings Bank, Portsmouth, Va., which was given a quota of $5,700 to raise, but raised a total of over $100,000 or nearly twenty times the stipulated amount.

The importance of the Negro people in helping to conserve food was recognized by Mr. Herbert Hoover, Director of the Food Administration. The Negro Division was organized in his Educational Department, first under Mr. A. U. Craig and later under Mr. Ernest T. Atwell. These gentlemen succeeded in lining up 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States who responded heartily to the call to conserve and save food. In every state where there was a considerable Negro population, there were Negro assistants associated with the state food directors.

The Negro in the Army. There were 342,277

Negroes accepted for full military service, a larger percentage of Negro men than of white men, for of white men there were 26.8 per cent accepted, and of Negro men, 31.7 per cent. It is significant that on March 25, 1917, even before war was declared against Germany by the United States, the First Separate Battalion, District of Columbia, National Guard, was called into service. This battalion was placed in charge of watching the water supply and the various power plants of the District of Columbia to prevent any possible attack by inimical aliens. The Negro Guardsmen were chosen because, as one newspaper expressed it, there were no hyphenates among these Americans.

High positions of responsibility, honor, and trust in the army did not come without a determined struggle by Negro Americans. This is illustrated by the campaign that Negroes and their friends had to make to secure training for capable Negro men who wanted to become officers and serve their country in these responsible positions. They were denied opportunity to get training at Plattsburg and the Government Training Camps established by Congress for white officers. Prominent citizens took up the question of provision for the training of Negro officers. Negro students also were deeply interested in the matter. A Central Committee of Negro Colleges, with headquarters at Howard University, in a short time obtained the names of 1,500 competent Negro men who stood ready to enroll at an Officers' Training Camp.

An appeal was made to the War Department for such a camp. Congressmen were interviewed and some senators and representatives gave their approval. Negro churches and national leaders gave their endorsement, the Negro press furnished its support, although some of

the Negro people themselves criticized the effort as a move to establish a "Jim-crow" camp. After about three weeks' campaigning in this way, the War Department on May 12, 1917, gave notice that a camp to accommodate about 1,250 men would be established at Fort Dodge, Iowa, on June 15. The committee of Negro college men then turned their efforts to see that the young Negro men throughout the country, capable of passing the examination to enter the camp, would now volunteer. A circular which they sent out said, "No one who has not been in the fight knows what a struggle we have had to obtain the camp. . . . Let us not mince matters; the race is on trial. It needs every one of its red-blooded, noble men." [1]

On June 15, 1917, Negro men assembled at Des Moines expecting to be trained for a period of three months. At the end of that time, however, the War Department decided to continue the training another month. So dubious had been the men about the intentions of the Government to commission Negro officers that some of them lost hope and dropped out of the camp. The great majority, however, remained, and on October 14, 1917, officers' commissions were issued to 639: 106 as captains, 329 as first lieutenants, and 204 as second lieutenants. These officers were sent to seven different camps where the widely distributed units of the 92d Division, the Negro Division of the Army, were in training.

While these men were in training at Des Moines, a regrettable clash took place in August, 1917, between the Negro soldiers and the citizens of Houston, Texas. This incident aroused intense feeling among the Negro people and great fears and hostile feeling among the white people when Negro troops should be placed in a number

[1] Quoted in Scott, E. J., work cited, p. 89.

of the Southern camps for the training of soldiers. On May 18, 1917, Congress had enacted the Selective Service Act, popularly called the "Draft Law." This was to be applied to black and white alike, and it was evident that if the Negro soldiers were drafted, they would have to be trained somewhere.

So aroused were some of the white people in some of the states about the matter, however, that officials and citizens presented many protests to the Government at Washington. The War Department first took the position that the Negro and white troops of the National Guard Divisions should be stationed at such posts as the exigencies of the service made necessary. After considerable conference, however, the Secretary of War modified the policy to the extent that while Southern states might take exception to camps of Negroes recruited from Northern states, they could not well object to the Negro draftees from the several districts of their own states.[1] This worked hardships upon some of the draftees from states like Alabama, which had only a camp for National Guardsmen. It did work out, however, that Negroes from states like Georgia and Arkansas were thrown into cantonments with draftees from the North and West, and it soon developed that white and Negro men could get on together in the same camps without much friction.

There had been much agitation in the newspapers and considerable question raised as to what would be the action and attitude of the Negroes, especially those in the South, when called upon to respond to the "Draft Law." There was undoubtedly dissatisfaction among the Negro people about evils from which they had suffered for so many years. Official testimony also from the Department

[1] Scott, E. J., work cited, pp. 72-77.

of Justice and from the Military Intelligence Bureau of the War Department showed that the Germans had really tried to incite the Negroes against the Government.

Some of the white newspapers greatly exaggerated the amount of this German propaganda and created the impression that it was gaining a great headway among Negroes and that they would be likely to take exception to the draft or become deserters. The Patriotic Education Society of Washington sent out several stories about relations of German agents to Negro unrest in the South. The facts were that mistreatment in America was at the bottom of such unrest among Negroes and not German agents. Some sentiment, too, was expressed by one or two Southern newspapers that Negroes should not be drafted at all because they had not equally shared in the benefits of the government.[1] During the entire period of the World War, however, the Negro people of America showed an elevated spirit in rising above the wrongs and injustices they have suffered at the hands of their white neighbors and rallied unselfishly to the support of the Stars and Stripes.

The momentous registration day, June 5, 1917, came. It should be borne in mind that in only a few localities were Negro citizens allowed to serve as selective service registrars. Even with this racial enticement removed, the Negro men subject to the draft went without hesitation to the places of registration and listed their names as those who were ready to obey the law and to respond to the call of their country. In fact, some of the Southern newspapers said that the Negro had outstripped his white fellow-citizen in his readiness and promptness in responding to the call of his country. In many well established cases, Negro men who had ample

[1] Scott, E. J., work cited, p. 350.

ground for exemption, such as dependent families, did not claim it. Under the selective service regulations, the official reports show that 51.6 per cent of the Negro registrants were placed in Class I subject to first call, and only 32.5 per cent of the white registrants were so classified.[1] It appears that Negroes formed nearly 8 per cent of the entire registration. Of the draftees certified for service, the first official report of the Provost Marshal General states that of every 100 Negro citizens called in the draft, 36 were certified for service and 64 rejected, exempted, or discharged, while for every 100 white citizens called, 25 were certified for service and 75 were rejected, exempted, or discharged.

The action of the Negro draftees in responding so heartily settled once for all the question as to whether German propaganda, mistreatment and denial of the rights, immunities and privileges of full citizenship, or any other cause would so affect the unalterable loyalty of Negro American citizens to the Stars and Stripes, the symbol of our democracy, as to cause them to hesitate when there was need that they offer themselves in its defense.

The Provost Marshal General in his second annual report to the Secretary of War commented on the situation thus:[2] "Some doubt was felt and expressed, by the best friends of the Negro, when the call came for a draft upon the man power of the nation, whether he would possess sufficient stamina to measure up to the full duty of citizenship and would give to the Stars and Stripes that had guaranteed for him the same liberties now sought for all nations and all races the response that was its due. And on the part of the leaders of the Negro

[1] Scott, E. J., work cited, pp. 67-69.
[2] Quoted in Scott, E. J., work cited, pp. 69-70.

race, there was apprehension that the sense of fair play and fair dealing, which is so essentially an American characteristic, would not, nay, could not, in a country of such diversified views, with sectional feelings still slumbering but not dead, be meted out to the members of the colored race. . . .

"How groundless such fears, how ill considered such doubts, may be seen from the statistical records of the draft with relation to the Negro. His race furnished its quota, and uncomplainingly, yes, cheerfully. History, indeed, will be unable to record the fullness of his spirit in the War, for the reason that opportunities for enlistment were not open to him to the same extent as to the whites. But enough can be gathered from the records to show that he was filled with the same feeling of patriotism, the same martial spirit that fired his white fellow-citizens in the cause for world freedom." In the cheerful words of a Negro poet:[1]

> . . . And they went in at all detractors smiling;
> They learned as quick as anyhow to shoot,
> They took the prize at loading ships, and riveting and piling,
> And trained a thousand officers to boot.

The many other problems that the War Department was facing in handling this work showed the great need of some representative Negro of ability as a special adviser to the War Department who could give them information and council from within the Negro world. Consequently, Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, in August, 1917, called upon the Secretary of War and pointed out to him the necessity of having in the War Department such a Negro.[2] He pointed out

[1] Hill, Leslie Pinckney, "The Black Man's Bit," in *The Wings of Oppression.*

[2] Scott, E. J., work cited, p. 41.

also the encouragement such a step would give the Negroes of the nation. After consideration of the matter, the Secretary of War, October 5, 1917, announced that he had appointed Dr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary of Tuskegee Institute, and "assigned him the post of duty in the War Department as confidential adviser." Dr. Scott's wide experience as private secretary to Booker T. Washington caused representative white and Negro citizens in all parts of the country to endorse this action by the Secretary.

There were many complaints of difficulties, and discriminations and race friction in the camps. The Secretary of War, with the advice of his special assistant, did everything he could to correct these abuses, but many continued, nevertheless. Dr. Scott's fine work in promoting the training of officers and in stimulating action in the camps and among Negroes of the nation is well set forth in his *Official History of the American Negro in the World War.*

The following are some of the complaints that were thoroughly investigated and certified to by a Committee on Welfare of Negro Troops of the Wartime Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America: unfair treatment, oftentimes on the part of the military police; inadequate provision for recreation; restrictions upon educated Negroes in their attempt to rise above non-commissioned officers in labor battalions; unreasonable confinement in the guard house and unreasonably heavy penalties; lack of proper medical treatment; insufficient number of hostess houses; slow discharges of labor battalions after the Armistice; abusive language used to colored soldiers by white officers; inadequate supply of clothing, overcoats, bedding, and tent flooring at points where winter was hard upon

the men. At one or two camps Negro soldiers were provided with no sanitary conveniences, bathing facilities, or Y.M.C.A. service during the War period, until after white soldiers had left the station.

During the course of the War many stories of unfair treatment and discrimination against colored soldiers in France came by way of letters and reports of soldiers who returned as the War went on. The suggestion was made by a committee of the Federal Council of the Churches that the Government send a delegation of three Negroes to investigate these complaints and make a report. This recommendation was approved, but the shortness of time between the suggestion and the end of the War, as well as the slow-working machinery in such matters, did not permit this suggestion to be carried out.

Negro troops in action. The 92d Division, composed entirely of Negro units which had been trained at seven different camps, was ordered overseas in May, 1918. Following eight weeks of training there in the new war tactics, the Division took up its first fighting responsibilities in the St. Die sector and received its first baptism of fire. It held this sector for four weeks, repelling all attacks of the enemy, taking a number of prisoners and a quantity of war material. Later the Division was withdrawn from this sector and ordered to Marbache, directly south of Metz, one of the most strongly fortified positions of the Germans and most completely connected with the rear by means of railroads and other forms of communication. The enemy was not falling back here as he was doing along the Hindenburg line; he was entrenched in positions prepared for more than four years and was supported by artillery that had had plenty of time to get the range of all area

before it. The Negro troops, facing such defenses, were constantly on the offensive and had made repeated gains and territory when the order with the signing of the Armistice closed their operations. This Division suffered heavy losses in its various operations, the total of casualties and missing being 103 officers and 1,543 men.[1]

In reporting the conduct of the 92d Division, one of the Brigadier Generals said, "We took complete possession of No Man's Land. After the first few days we were unable to find any German patrols outside of their lines." The commanding general in making a report of the first day's operation said that undoubtedly the enemy considered the 92d Division an "uncomfortable neighbor with whom he intends to avoid close relations in the future." A major of one of the battalions in making a report said: "I desire especially to call to the attention of the division commander the fact that the handling of their units by their company and battalion commanders was all that could be expected of the most experienced officers."[2] In reviewing the troops in January, just before they reëmbarked for home, General Pershing said to the men of the 92d Division: "You stood second to none in the record you have made since your arrival in France."

All the regiments of the 92d Division were vying for greatest achievement in service. It was said, however, that the 367th regiment, popularly known as "the Buffaloes," probably made the outstanding record. The entire first battalion was cited for bravery and awarded the Croix de Guerre, entitling every officer and man in the battalion to wear this insignia of valor. Colonel James A. Moss, the white commanding officer of this regiment,

[1] Scott, E. J., work cited, pp. 130-162.
[2] From documents in Scott, E. J., work cited, pp. 148-167.

born and bred in the South, learned to appreciate these Negroes as real men and received their confidence and affection. Speaking of his soldiers, he says, "Treat and handle the colored man as you would any other human being out of whom you would make a good soldier, out of whom you would get the best there is in him, and you will have as good a soldier as history has ever known—a man who will drill well, shoot well, march well, obey well, fight well." [1]

There have been charges and countercharges about the failure of some Negro troops in battle. As with some of the white troops unused to the ordeal of this conflict, mistakes were probably made by some troops, but the testimony is universal that whatever happened these cases were exceptions and that the Negro soldiers in the fighting in France won honor for themselves and glory for their flag and country.

A Negro regiment, popularly known as "The Old Fifteenth" of the New York National Guard, had an interesting record. After some weeks of training in France, the regiment, unassisted by the French, was given a sector in the Bois D'Hauze in Champagne. They served here a few weeks, and after a period of rest were transferred to a French Division in which there were French Moroccan troops. On September 26, they were sent into action. The entire regiment deported itself with such gallantry and courage that 171 officers and enlisted men were cited for the French Croix de Guerre and their colonel for the Legion of Honor. This regiment was the first contingent of Negro American soldiers to enter the trenches and was the first unit of the allied armies to reach the Rhine. The regiment held a trench many days without relief, and was under such service at one

[1] Scott, E. J., work cited, pp. 194-195.

period for 191 days. It is said of this regiment that it "never lost a trench, a foot of ground, or a man captured."

Colonel Hayward, now United States District Attorney, County of New York, who commanded the regiment, in commenting on whether or not the American Negro would stand up in battle under the terrific shell and other fire in the World War as he had always stood up under rifle fire in other wars, said, "They are positively the most stoical and mysterious men I have ever known. Nothing surprises them, and French officers say they are entirely different from their own African troops and the Indian troops of the British, who are so excitable under fire."[1] When twelve volunteers were called from one company of the regiment for a raiding party, the whole company fell in line. All wanted to go, and their captain had to pick twelve men.

A Negro regiment, the Eighth Illinois National Guard, was mustered into the National Army as the 370th United States Infantry. This regiment had Negro officers from the colonel down. Colonel Franklin T. Dennison, commander of the regiment, and later Colonel Otis C. Duncan, who succeeded him, helped to demonstrate to the world that Negro soldiers could fight heroically and successfully under the command of Negro officers. There were two other regiments, the 371st and 372d, composed of Negro troops that saw active service with a French Division. In a farewell order as these regiments took leave of France, General Coybet, of the 157th (French) Division, said, "Never will the 157th Division forget the indomitable dash, the heroic rush of the American regiments (Negro) up the observatory ridge and into

[1] From a letter of Colonel Hayward, quoted in Scott, E. J., work cited, pp. 204-206.

the Plains of Monthois . . . These crack regiments overcame every obstacle with a most complete contempt for danger. Through their steady devotion, the 'Red Hand Division' for nine whole days of severe struggle was constantly leading the way for the victorious advance of the Fourth Army."[1] The 157th Division erected a monument near Monthois, Ardennes, in honor of the dead of the 371st and 372d infantry who fought and died with them.

The first American soldiers, black or white, to receive the French Croix de Guerre, were Needham Roberts, of Trenton, N. J., and Henry Johnson, of Albany, N. Y., both members of "The Old Fifteenth" of New York, then the 369th Infantry, A.E.F. The recital of their exploits in beating off a dozen or more Germans, after both had been wounded, was one of the first stories of heroism to be flashed over the wires and printed in newspapers throughout the country in the early days of our expedition to France. In speaking of the incident, the *New York Times* said, "If the good and the great who have preceded the heroes of the present are privileged to read the citations for conspicuous bravery that mark their honorable successors, how must the shade of Robert Gould Shaw rejoice." These exploits of regiments and individual heroes explain why the Germans were so afraid of the black troops and why they bestowed upon them the nickname of "Afro-American Devil Dogs." General Pershing cabled Secretary Baker, "I cannot commend too highly the spirit shown among the colored combatant troops who exhibit fine capacity for quick training and eagerness for the most dangerous."[2]

When Negroes have given so much for their country,

[1] Quoted in *The Crisis*, March, 1919.
[2] Quoted in newspaper dispatches, June 21, 1918.

will not their country make safe for them that democracy for which so many have sacrificed and died? The Negro soul has dreamed democracy. The Negro heart has panted for the waterbrooks of liberty. Whenever the paths have led toward that immortal stream, the Negro has been willing and eager to go. If those have been paths of peace, of patient toil, of daily drudgery in field or forest, or of vaulting thought and boiling feeling, his feet have uncomplainingly sought the way. When these paths have led to war, to sacrifice, and to death, his bleeding footprints have been among those of the many left upon the sands of time. The Negro has been a man of peace, but whenever the issue of democracy has forced its devotees to battle and to death, he has not hesitated to offer himself and all he possesses. These services in agriculture, in industry, in volunteer relief, the giving of their means for loans and of themselves for duty even unto death show the feelings, the attitudes, and the habits of action toward their country and their flag of the first generation of freemen. They have caught and are bearing on the torch from the hands of those of the past. Thousands of them have shown the greatest love one human being can show others in laying down their lives like other Americans. Theirs is a challenge to other Americans to dedicate themselves to the principles of Jesus that are essentially those of democracy.

CHAPTER V

The Trend of the White World [1]

WITHIN human life two impulses press forward to control the affairs of men. One is self-assertive, self-centered, and dominating, considering only gain in wealth and power. The other is self-denying, seeking justice and mercy, ever ready to consider the interest of the other fellow, the other group, or the other race. There are varying shades of motives between these two impulses, and both are active in American life to-day. One wants abolition of war; the other seeks foreign trade even if it involves war. One is after money and has few scruples about when or how it is got so long as it is obtained and there is little publicity. The other seeks the brotherliness of the Kingdom, knowing that these things will be added.

Both these currents of the common life touch and work within the Negro's life and his world. With the drawing apart of the two races, the Negro sees and feels less and less of the kindlier side and knows less of the ideal side of the white world. The races do not meet as much as formerly in home and church and school, where altruistic service flows. Their contacts now are more in the rough and tumble of work and trade, where mainly profits are sought, or in the affairs of government, where struggles for power are waged. It is necessary, then, for a clear view of the whole situation to sketch the sides of the white world that touch the Negro world, however in-

[1] The author is indebted to Mr. Will W. Alexander for assistance in gathering some of the material in this chapter and for suggestions as to certain points contained in it. Mr. Alexander should not, however, be held responsible for the treatment of the subject.

complete and inadequate such a description and analysis may be. At the outset it should be pointed out that it is difficult to summarize the ideas and arguments involved without seeming to argue debated points. The purpose here is not to argue and render judgments on these ideas, attitudes, and ways, but to set them forth clearly and to set over against them the facts that should be weighed with them as an exposition of a national situation.

Attitudes and ways of action due to conscience. From under the door-posts of the house of Negro bondage flow waters that come from the two different springs described in the opening paragraph. The humanitarian and religious impulses of conscience have struggled with those of economic cravings. Benjamin Lunday, the father of "gradual abolition," was a Kentuckian, as was Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator. Thomas Jefferson, the great Virginian, commenting on slavery, said, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever." [1] In the Tennessee Constitutional Convention of 1834, the delegates from the eastern counties contended for a provision for the emancipation of the slaves. At one time the setting free of slaves became so frequent in Virginia that the legislature placed barriers in the way.[2] The Negro free populations of southern Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio bear testimony to the conscience of the masters who became actively convinced that slavery was wrong. Before the invention of the cotton gin, anti-slavery societies grew and flourished, not only in the more advanced eastern states, but in the then pioneer states. By 1792, there were abolition societies in all the states from Massachu-

[1] Jefferson, Thomas, *Notes on Virginia,* writings edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. III, p. 267.
[2] Brawley, B. G., work cited, pp. 63, 76.

setts to Virginia, and two years later the American Convention of Abolition Societies was formed at Philadelphia by nine of these societies.[1] It was in one of these frontier communities that Owen Lovejoy laid down his life for his convictions against the system.

American history would lose many of its illustrious names if its records omitted those who have spent fortune, given life, and become acquainted with grief, that the dispossessed children of color might be free and be admitted to the brotherhood. From William Penn, Garret Hendricks, and Benjamin Franklin, from Lord Oglethorpe, Roger Williams, and Cotton Mather, from John Woolman and Anthony Benzenet, from St. George Tucker of William and Mary College, Hezekiah Niles, editor of *Niles's Register*, Lorenzo Dow, the Methodist preacher, and Henry Clay, the statesman, down to Owen Lovejoy, John Brown, Charles Sumner, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Samuel C. Armstrong, Bishop Capers, Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, Bishop Charles B. Galloway, Robert C. Ogden, James H. Dillard, and John J. Eagan, there has been an unbroken line of those who have given themselves to stop the mouths of the lions of prejudice and exploitation.

The present-day attitudes arising from conscience may best be expressed in the words of individuals and organizations mainly of white men and women, many of whom, North and South, have joined with Negroes in coöperative efforts to help America save its soul in racial relations. Resolutions of the Woman's Missionary Council, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1913 deplored mob violence and stated "that, as women engaged in Christian social service for the full redemption of our social order, we do protest in the name of outraged jus-

[1] Brawley, B. G., *A Social History of the American Negro*, p. 60.

tice, against the savagery of lynching." They called "upon lawmakers and enforcers of law and upon all who value justice and righteousness to recognize their duty to the law and to the criminal classes." [1]

In August, 1920, at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, seventy white leaders in conference, representing all the larger church denominations working in the South, called "upon our fellow-Christians of both races throughout the South to unite in a sincere and immediate effort to solve our interracial problems with the spirit of Christ, according to the principles of the gospel and for the highest interest and benefit of all concerned."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which organization was pioneered and is now supported by many conscientious white people, stated as its objective from the outset: "To uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere. . . . It has no other belief than that the best way to uplift the colored man is the best way to aid the white man to peace and social content."

The Georgia State Committee on Race Coöperation, composed of white women representing women's organizations of that state, said, in 1921: "We realize that the race question is one of the causes of lawlessness, strife, and unrest. Therefore, we propose to face it squarely, honestly, and without prejudice, that righteousness and justice may be secured for all the people." The women expressed their belief that "no falser appeal can be made to Southern manhood than that mob violence is necessary for the protection of womanhood; that the brutal practise of lynching and burning of human beings is an ex-

[1] Quoted in Hammond, *In Black and White*, p. 65-66.

pression of chivalry." They declared themselves "for the protection of all womanhood of whatever race." Governor Dorsey of Georgia, in 1921, while citing instances of outrages upon Negroes in that state, said he believed that "the better element" of white people "of the whole state, who constitute the majority of our people, will condemn such conditions and take the steps necessary to correct them." Doctor Edwin Mims of Vanderbilt University, Secretary of the Law and Order League of Tennessee, reported in 1919 that public opinion in that state had been "crystallized against lynchings, riots, and all other forms of lawlessness."

However much Negroes and white people, North and South, may take exception to some points of President Harding's speech at Birmingham, Ala., October, 1921, it, nevertheless, marks a growing courage of conscience when such a speech by a president of the United States was given and received in the heart of the South. After arguing for educational, political, and economic equality for the Negro, President Harding declared, "Unless our democracy is a lie, you must stand for that equality."[1] The University Race Commission, composed of representatives from the State Universities of the South, has issued annually for five years open letters to the college students of the South. Each letter has dealt in a liberal way with some question of the hour. In 1922 the letter discussed "interracial coöperation," saying, in part: "No fact is more clearly established by history than that hatred and force only complicate race relations. The alternative to this is counsel and coöperation among men of character and good-will, and, above all, of intelligent and comprehensive knowledge of the racial problem."

In 1920 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ

[1] Reported in the *Literary Digest,* Nov. 19, 1921, p. 7.

in America, officially representing thirty of the strongest Protestant denominations, set forth the conviction of that body in these words: "Racial understanding and coöperation furnish the only sure basis of race adjustment in a democracy. The root of the matter is the failure to recognize the Negro as a man. . . . Respect for Negro manhood and womanhood is the only basis for permanent racial peace. If we talk democracy, let us act democracy." In 1921 this same Council formed its Commission on the Church and Race Relations, "to assert the sufficiency of Christianity as the solution of race relations in America" and to promote constructive activities to that end.

Influence of economic motives. Negroes were brought to America as labor recruits when indentured servants from Europe and Indian slaves could no longer meet the growing demands. From the first there were those who sought to prevent or overcome the evils of Negro slavery, but Americans were seeking cheap labor, and Europeans found profit in capturing, shipping, and selling Africans into the country. With the rise of cotton culture on a large scale, the profits made out of the business silenced or warped the humanitarian and the religious conscience of the majority and led many men to seek to defend the system. With the decline of tobacco and rice culture, slave labor would have brought diminishing returns except for the invention of the cotton-gin in 1792, the spinning jenny, and the power loom. These inventions enabled cotton and cotton fabrics to be produced in large quantities. Slave labor rapidly rose in productivity in Southern cotton fields, and slavery changed from a personal patriarchal institution to a wide agricultural system. Negro labor thus largely contributed to the building up of an agricultural and industrial en-

terprise that has since been one of the bases of American prosperity. Cotton mills in New and Old England brought increasing wages to thousands of white workers and millions of dollars' profit to mill owners, merchants, and traders. These economic motives soon became strong enough to challenge the religious and humanitarian impulses, seeking freedom for the slave through the emancipation organizations and activities mentioned in the preceding section. The issue then became a tense one between the flowering ideals of the young democracy and the system of enforced labor of the "Cotton Kingdom." Before the settlement of the question, native communities of a large part of the African continent were destroyed, whole regions were depopulated, native organizations were disrupted, African jungles were lined with bleached human bones, millions of souls were snatched from Africa, many of them to die in the "middle passage" of the slave-trade, a bloody, fratricidal war broke upon America, and a difficult race situation resulted, to perplex the present generation. Conscience, for the sake of humanity and religion, paid the price in blood and treasure and is to-day trying to control the situation through mission institutions, publicly supported schools, and in other constructive ways.

The present industrial relationship between employer and employee is perhaps the greatest problem of brotherhood among white men. The Negro in America is, to a large extent, a common laborer employed by white employers and coöperating or competing with white workmen. Between him and his white employer are many of the barriers which divide white employers and employees plus racial mistrust on the one hand and lack of appreciation on the other. It is very difficult, if at all possible, to divide the problems of race from the economic

problems. As many a European lord thought of his peasant laborers, and some industrial employers think of their "hands," so, many white men think of Negroes as filling their ends in life by contributing to production.[1] Many of the plantations of the Southern United States, of the West Indies, and of parts of South and East Africa are conducted upon such an assumption.[2]

Some of the most intense race friction may be found where the races come in contact in the field of industry. Any one who is familiar with the circumstances leading up to the riots in East St. Louis, Chicago, Coatesville, and Springfield will recognize the menace which disjointed labor conditions hold for race relations. Local labor unions have, themselves, not always been guiltless of using race prejudice to restrict Negroes in industry. The unemployed Negro is often assessed with an excessive share of the crime wave which accompanies general unemployment, and the Negroes who are employed are sometimes targets for jealous unemployed white men. Brotherly contact and understanding sometimes enable both sides to see that there is a common interest between them, that hunger is neither white nor black and that fair play requires all to share alike the pinch or prosperity of general conditions. In agriculture, also, friction sometimes arises. Under ante-bellum conditions there were two main economic classes, planter and slave, in the black belt's richer regions. To-day white people and Negro people are divided into owners, tenants, and farm labor-

[1] These statements may seem dogmatic, but they summarize considerable evidence. See Stone, Alfred H., *The American Race Problem;* Olivier Sydney, *White Capital and Coloured Labor,* and others.

[2] Evans, Maurice, *Black and White in South East Africa,* pp. 26-183; *Black and White in the Southern States,* pp. 224-230; Woofter, T. J., *Negro Migration, Changes in Rural Organization and Population of the Cotton Belt,* pp.. 29-42, 82-91.

ers.[1] The difficulties increase from the fact that Negroes, as well as Caucasians, are either farm owners, many of whom are prosperous, or farm tenants. Friction between the white population and prosperous Negroes or those struggling toward high economic standing often manifests itself,[2] sometimes going to such extremes that it leads to murder and to the burning of Negro homes, churches, and schools.

Attitudes toward education have been greatly influenced by such economic motives. It is an open secret that some of the favor shown to agricultural and industrial education for Negroes was on the assumption that it made better servants or more profitable workers. This has, at times, greatly confused the Negro people themselves and often led them to overlook the intrinsic worth of such training and to oppose it from fear that it would in some way keep them in subjection. Opposition of white people to other forms of education sometimes arose from the feeling excited by economic fears that to educate a Negro was to spoil a field hand, a servant, or a laborer.

Survivals from the past. Although nearly sixty years have passed since the emancipation of the Negro, there is still in American thinking much that was brought down from slavery. However kindly disposed individual owners may have been, that institution denied full personality to the slave. As Murphy says: "This bondage fixed instinctively a limit beyond which the Negro must not ascend; it fixed a limit below which the Negro must not fall."[3] This attitude bore especially heavily upon the aspiring Negro, pierced through as it often was with the fear that if a Negro were admitted to the treasures of

[1] See Woofter, T. J., work cited, pp. 52-73.
[2] Murphy, Edward G., *Problems of the Present South*, pp. 154-157.
[3] Murphy, E. G., work cited, p. 163.

Shacks in a Typical Negro City Colony and a Community of New Homes of Negro Workers in a Southern City

Improvements in housing and neighborhood conditions help not only the Negro workers, but add to the health and happiness of every person in the community.

knowledge and liberty, the day might come when, because of his knowledge, he might no longer submit. Denmark Vesey in revolt in South Carolina in 1822, Nat Turner in Virginia in 1831, to say nothing of other insurrections and of thousands of individuals who resisted punishment and ran away to free territory, gave ground for such apprehensions.

The Emancipation Proclamation did not destroy this idea. It persists to-day among many white Americans, North and South, who denounce the injustices to the Negro and personally may show him great kindness and consideration, yet who do not think of him in terms of capacity for full personality. Thus, men and women who think of themselves as good Americans will argue that the Negro is all right, but that it was ordained of God that he should be a "hewer of wood and drawer of water." Or again, they may grant that the Negro must be given opportunities, but declare at the same time that he must be made "to know his place." Such attitudes were often not consciously chosen. They were absorbed by the individual as he grew up, just as he absorbed his other feelings and prejudices. Consciously or unconsciously, however, these people have adopted attitudes which survive from a past condition and system of servitude.

The legal protection guaranteed to slaves varied in the different states. The courts dealt with the most serious crimes committed by Negroes, such as murder, riots, and uprisings, but most of the crimes of slaves were dealt with by master or overseer without reference to the courts. The habit of dealing with public conduct of Negroes by other than legal procedure has not passed away but is becoming recognized as an outworn method of racial contacts. At the present time in many communities the

Negro is still dealt with by vigilantes, by self-appointed groups, or by individuals who chastise without court procedure as alleged misdemeanors or crimes seem to the executioners to merit. White men of influence often intercede with the courts and secure "their Negroes" such consideration as white influence commands. Courts are not unknown in which accused Negroes escape punishment, not in proportion to their guilt or innocence, but in accordance with the standing of the white men who appeal to the courts in their behalf.[1] Many "Black Laws" were passed between 1865-1868 to deal with occupations, labor contracts, apprenticeship, and vagrancy of Negroes. These statutes attempted to fix by law after emancipation the conditions, largely with reference to labor, not far removed from the previous system in the belief that compulsion was necessary to make the newly emancipated people work. To many Negroes, freedom did at first, of course, mean ceasing from labor; but the stern commands of hunger and cold were stronger than legal codes or court orders. Vagrancy was made a part of the compulsory labor system by such devices as, for example, the laws of one state which provided that the sheriff should hire to the person who paid his fine and costs any Negro who did not pay the fine imposed for vagrancy. Similar penalties were legal for breach of contract and for other offenses.[2]

Survivals of this view of Negro labor have persisted in some plantation sections in the customary way of settlement between landlord and tenant. One white man said that some of the landlords in his district regarded

[1] For graphic description of this, see Hammond, L. H., *In Black and White*, pp. 46-55.

[2] See Stephenson, Gilbert T., *Race Distinctions in American Law*, pp. 46-63; Merriam, George S., *The Negro and the Nation*, pp. 367-393.

any surplus handed Negro tenants as "tips" rather than wages due. Many plantation tenants work year in and year out with little knowledge of what they produce. There are often no written contracts. The landlord keeps the books and at the end of the year settlement is made according to his accounts, thus there is no check upon error or subterfuge. In many cases this means that the Negro gets only his meager food, clothing, and shelter. If the landlord desires exorbitant profits or encourages thriftless tenants, the end of the year finds the Negro with a sufficient debt to make it possible to prevent his leaving, since in some localities it is against the law or custom for Negroes to leave a plantation if they are in debt.[1] There are many plantations where fairness is shown the tenant, even shiftless ones being dealt with leniently, and the bad conditions are passing away, but public opinion, colored by the surviving customs of the past, has been slow to change them. In other fields of labor, this surviving idea serves to keep wages down on the erroneous theory that Negroes do not need the same standards of pay as other workers because they can live more cheaply or because, as other workers, some of them will loaf if they get more pay than their bare creature needs require. On the other hand, some employers have adopted a progressive policy of stimulating the wants and standards of living of Negroes to give them incentives to regular work.

Attitudes due to ideas of race. The people whose ancestors lived in Northwestern Europe along the North Sea and on the rivers, many of which flow into the sea, have made a conquest, military and economic, of much of

[1] Woofter, T. J., work cited, pp. 85-88; *Twenty-second Annual Report Commissioner of Labor*, pp. 129, 133-135, 146-147; Hammond, L. H., *In Black and White*, pp. 52-58. The writers should add that many personal visits have been made to plantation districts.

the rest of the world. They govern several hundred millions directly and control by mandates and "spheres of influence" a large part of the remainder. Out of this group or racial experience, and the power and prestige flowing from it, has developed the popular idea of racial superiority. This increase of power and prestige of a people who hold "dominion over palm and pine" has naturally bred pride in their courage, knowledge, wealth, and culture that led them into such influence over the world. This idea of superiority of Caucasian stocks has been made a popular standard by which other groups are measured.[1] The white people of this age, of course, have not been the only ones to hold such an idea and there are among them many who see its limitations. Kipling, the great modern prophet, has pointed out in his "Recessional" the great responsibilities and dangers to the strong who hold controlling world power. The view of racial superiority has been held by peoples from the Assyrians and Egyptians to the Greeks and Romans, when they achieved success and wielded great power over subject peoples.[2] Writers and others who express this idea argue that the governments of self-governing white men can neither be the possession of another race, nor share their responsibility of control with other races. In other words, as it relates to the Negro in America, he is to be permanently a sub-citizen.[3] This kind of an attitude is back

[1] Kennedy, Sinclair, *The Pan-Angles; a consideration of the Federation of the Seven English Speaking Nations;* Stoddard, Lothrop, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy.*

[2] This idea is known in sociology as "ethnocentrism," Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution,* pp. 57-59.

[3] Hammond, L. H., work cited, pp. 19-20; Murphy, E. G., *The Basis of Ascendency,* Chapters II, III, VIII; Mecklin, John M., *Democracy and Race Friction,* pp. 1, 247-270; and popular magazine discussions on America, Western civilization, and world affairs.

of such remarks as that of an attorney, prominent in his local community, who said, "We give the Negro as much justice as it is safe for him to have."

In two states and two hundred and forty-eight counties of the South in 1910 the Negro population outnumbered the white. In the minds of many white citizens in these states and counties as well as elsewhere, there is always present the possibility that Negroes may seek to come into control of public affairs. Many feel about the Negro in politics in terms of the newly freed slaves of reconstruction days, although some see that this older policy cannot meet conditions of the new day.[1] On the whole, however, there is fear of the large Negro population retarded [2] in ignorance and poverty, which the lack of public means of education and development has continued from decade to decade. Thus a solid political organization has been produced and even the intelligent Negro who asks for the exercise of political rights and privileges on terms such as are offered to all is often barred. This fear, sometimes incited by unscrupulous leaders, has been encouraged by the fact that the Negro vote has usually been a "bloc" vote. Conditions have made it so that Negro and white voters largely divide by race, with little division among themselves on issues and candidates.

There are thoughtful white people who believe that the Negro can develop into the higher things of civilization, but they hold, however, that America is designed for white people; that to allow Negroes to share fully in American life is to imperil American institutions and to lay upon the Negro responsibilities which, as a race, he is unprepared to sustain. The choice, as they see it, is for the Negro either to go to some other part of the world

[1] Murphy, E. G., *The Basis of Ascendency*, pp. 57-61.
[2] Murphy, E. G., work cited, pp. 51-54.

or accept in America those limitations and restrictions upon his opportunities which they regard as necessary to keep America a "white man's country." A writer recently concluded a discussion of such racial exclusiveness as follows: "We all know how unreasoning and unyielding race prejudice is. The individual finds himself swallowed up and swept on by the swift-flowing currents of racial hatreds and class animosities. Herein lie the deep-seated causes of war, whether it be between the Teuton and Anglo-Saxon in Flanders Field, or between Ethiopian and Caucasian in Tulsa, Oklahoma." [1]

Corollary to the notion of superiority of the white race is that of inferiority of other races. Here, a distinction between superiority and inferiority of *circumstances* in contrast with potential *capacity* should be pointed out. No candid views of the facts can dispute that the Caucasian race is now dominant in power through military and naval force, in wealth through possession of the world's riches, and in intelligence through the opportunity to assimilate and develop the mental experience and property of all who have gone before. From the experience in these advantages the white group mind passes to the doctrine of superior capacity, although the scientific and philosophic writer may or may not do so.[2] Other races, especially the Negro, not now so favored in circumstances are usually regarded by public opinion of the white world as lacking in potential power of commensurate achievement. The Japanese in California on account of difference in color, types of feelings and habits of action, economic competition, and other things are

[1] Pritchard, N. C., "Analyzing the Race Problem," *Christian Century*, August 11, 1921.

[2] Mecklin, *Democracy and Race Friction*, pp. 47-82; Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, pp. 29-74, 111-157; Johnston, Harry H., *The Negro in the New World*, preface.

judged from this standpoint by the average white man.[1] While Lothrop Stoddard in his *Rising Tide of Color* has failed to adhere to good science in his facts and arguments, he has, nevertheless, voiced the attitude of a great many white people toward other races. The lack of esteem in which Negroes in America are held is forcibly shown by the fact that in some states the courts have decided that to call a white person a Negro is such an injury that action for slander may be taken and damages recoverable on the ground that this word is damaging to such white person is his trade, business, or profession.[2] In 1888 the Supreme Court of Louisiana said, "It cannot be disputed that charging a white man with being a Negro is calculated to inflict injury or damage." In Georgia in 1904 a court rendered a decision with the same import. The other side of the matter has recently come to the surface in a court complaint brought by one Negro against another who had charged him with being a white man. This disparagement finds increased expression because of the long experience with the Negro slaves in America, separated from their African culture and ethnic contacts. Inferiority of the Negro is argued from history on the theory that natives in Africa had neither political organization, industrial or artistic development, religious systems, nor ethical inspiration.

It is interesting to note in this connection the information brought to light by explorers, travelers, and missionaries, and by a number of natives educated in Europe and America who are beginning to interpret their people to the world. They are showing that prior to the slave

[1] Millis, H. A., *The Japanese Problem in the United States*, pp. 197-250; Gulick, Sidney L., *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 53-76.

[2] Cases and facts cited in Stephenson, Gilbert T., *Race Distinctions in American Law*, pp. 26-33.

trade begun by the Portuguese, continued by the Dutch and Spanish, and brought to its culmination by the English, there was an African civilization in Nigeria, Gold Coast, Benin, Mossiland, Timbuctu, and in other areas. Space does not allow review here of the increasing evidence and arguments of such authorities as Leo Frobenius, Ling Roth, Dr. George A. Reisner of Harvard, Flinders Petrie, and others that there was a very high type of culture in North and Central Africa, possibly in pre-classical and very probably pre-Christian times. Any one wishing to learn about the past achievements of Negroes in Africa will be well rewarded in his search by the evidence of original steps, such as the earliest smelting of iron, and of arts and culture adapted from Arabian origins. Writers give accounts of ancient African rulers, governments, religions and customs, architecture, tomb-building, production of arts and crafts, such as carved elephant tusks, ivory armlets, stone images, etc., glass and porcelain objects, remarkable terra cottas, and exquisite metal castings.[1] There is also a well-sifted set of facts that Negroes from the Guinea Coast, West Africa, had made visits to America before Christopher Columbus.[2]

With reference to the Negro in America to-day in relation to this point, Edgar Gardner Murphy, a discerning white Southerner, expresses his impression from an examination of some of the facts:[3] "Seeing the Negro loafer

[1] Frobenius, Leo, *The Voice of Africa;* "The Material Culture of Ancient Nigeria," by Wm. L. Hansberry, *Journal of Negro History,* Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 261-295; Brawley, Benjamin, *Social History of the American Negro,* pp. 1-9; and works of other authorities mentioned above.

[2] Wiener, Leo, *Africa and the Discovery of America,* Vol. I, pp. 34, 178, 191-196.

[3] Murphy, Edgar Gardner, *Problems of the Present South,* pp. 167-168.

on the streets, the Negro man or woman in domestic service, the Negro laborer in the fields, is not seeing the Negro. It is seeing the Negro on one side. It is seeing the Negro before achievement begins, often before achievement—the achievement which the world esteems—is possible. Knowing the white man under these conditions would not be knowing the white man. Yet this side of the Negro is usually the only side of which the white community has direct and accurate knowledge. It is the knowledge of industrial contact upon its lower plane. It is not the knowledge of reciprocal obligations. And at the point where this lower contact ceases, at the point where the Negro's real efficiency begins and he passes out of domestic service or unskilled employment into a larger world, the white community loses its personal and definite information—the Negro passes into the unknown. As the Negro attains progress, he, by the very fact of progress, removes the tangible evidence of progress from the immediate observation of the white community.

"The inadequacy of the picture is due to subjective as well as to objective causes. A partly mistaken conception of the Negro has resulted from the fact that the white world which now sees the Negro habitually, which judges him and speaks of him most constantly, is not infrequently the white world at its worst. How large a number of the white world, upon its educated side, has ever really seen the life of a Negro home, or the life of the Negro school, or the life of the saner Negro church?"

The philosophy of racial relations that arose out of world power and slave degradation led logically to strong customs and laws against intermixture of the two races. This is the point at which it is most difficult for Negroes to understand the attitude of white people and for white

people to understand the attitude of Negroes. The white people usually suspect that the Negroes very greatly desire to be white, and that they will avail themselves of any opportunity that is offered of losing their racial identity. In the extremity of their views such white persons interpret every effort of Negroes to increase their advantages as an expression of a desire on their part to become white. To them the desire of a Negro to be a man is the desire to be a white man.

On the other hand, the closest observation shows that the tendency among Negroes, high and low, has been in the opposite direction, increased in recent decades by growing wealth, intelligence, racial consciousness, and racial self-respect. If white people should to-day ask Negroes whether they want racial intermixture, they would receive an emphatic denial from nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand Negroes. There is now a mass movement in America and elsewhere among Negroes expressing itself in several organizations to esteem things Negroid and to pursue ends racial and African. This has even found extremes in hostile anti-white propaganda and activities such as "Africa for the Africans," "The African Blood Brotherhood" and the like. Negroes feel a growing pride of race. What they are contending for is that men shall not be despised and restricted in opportunity because they are black, and that achievement and character shall be the basis of admission to the benefits of American life.

Here arises one of the anomalies of race relations for which Negroes do not find any excuse for the past or in the present. In practically all states where there have been Negroes in any considerable numbers, mulattoes have multiplied since the early days. The law and custom even now give no protection to the wronged Negro

mother and, as was the slave custom from colonial days, count the half-breed offspring by kinship to her and not to their father.[1] Twenty-six states had such laws in 1910, many of them antedating emancipation.[2] So far as facts can be ascertained, Negroes have not sought or argued for amalgamation, but what they are clamoring against is that law and custom shall not render black women and girls defenseless with nameless offspring, while the white fathers escape.

Effects of principles and ideals of democracy. From the Declaration of Independence to the proclamation of America's entrance into the World War, there have been gradually evolving certain principles which Americans consider fundamental to our developing democracy. Whenever the issue of Negro welfare has been squarely faced in its relation to these principles, white Americans have acceded to the attitude that they should accord to Negro Americans a share in the rights based upon these fundamental principles. Professing such principles, they have been led by a strong urge for consistency to the view that these principles must apply to all or they are true for none. Among the principles so regarded in America are equality of all citizens before the law, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, the right to trial by a jury of peers, the right to vote, and freedom of movement from place to place. Abraham Lincoln, to express the relation of the races to the welfare of the nation, quoted, "A house divided against itself cannot stand," applying the axiom to mean that unless the freedom of white America was extended to the black part of the nation, liberty for the white part would not be se-

[1] Brawley, B. G., work cited, pp. 24-31.
[2] Stephenson, Gilbert T., *Race Distinctions in American Law*, pp. 78-89.

cure. During the years that have followed, this view has gained larger and larger place in the settlement of the relations of the two races in industry, in education, in government, and in other phases of our common life. Although sometimes in the minority, there has been, in season and out, a body of Americans who have labored to keep this view and attitude before the nation. They have urged that the general welfare cannot be attained for some unless its benefits and responsibilities are shared by all.

The white race and the interracial mind. With such feelings and attitudes about their own race, and ways of acting toward the Negro race, white Americans face the future and seek world leadership, economic, political, and spiritual. As a part of the movement for world leadership, a larger appreciation of other races has been developing slowly but surely in the minds of many Americans. The presence of the Japanese and Chinese at the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament, sharing rights and responsibilities with other races, was a step toward that appreciation of other peoples by the white race, which is becoming the groundwork of goodwill for the future peace and prosperity of the world. The relation of Negro and white Americans is being affected by these world movements.

The idea that the American Negro is a person and an end in himself, to be educated and developed and to become a participant in all that makes life and liberty glorious in America will, although gradually, replace the idea of the Negro as only a servant. One step toward this end is the growing appreciation and recognition of the qualities of mind and heart which the Negro people have shown and which, when further developed, will make them a greater asset to America. In agriculture and in-

dustry the human elements which include the Negro workers are gaining the front of the stage. In the field of government, self-determination, now a matter of discussion, is gradually becoming a principle of action applied to non-white groups and races. As white men learn by experience,—as in the case of the results of equality for women,—the fears of harmful effects resulting from their change of ways and attitude toward Negroes begin to disappear. Then the idea of the interdependence of all men, the weak and the strong, begins to penetrate the mind of all. The principle of the Golden Rule is becoming a code of practical, everyday affairs, the wild tongues of boasting and prejudice are being silenced, and there is developing a revaluation of the Divine requirement to do justly and to love mercy.

CHAPTER VI

A Way to Interracial Peace

THE preceding chapters have attempted to define the task and to describe present conditions and relations of the two races in the main ways of life where they meet and where adjustment is necessary. It now remains to discuss the fundamental principles of amicable adjustment, to point out the method of personal contacts and the agencies through which they may be made for the advancement of both races together, to describe lines of educational publicity needed, and to outline the ideals toward which they travel. The ideals of justice, of law and order, of American freedom of speech, press, and representation, of courtesy, of the obligation of the strong to help the weak, of respect for all personality, and of constructive coöperation on the basis of the brotherhood of mankind comprise the goal. Besides the economic forces described in Chapter II, the school as the avenue of education, the church as the avenue of religion, the home as the avenue of the family, the state as the avenue of government, and the voluntary agencies auxiliary to those organizations are the highways through which the present and succeeding generations must pass toward that goal. It will not suffice that the Few of each race see the goal; they and the Many must also know the road.

Racial contacts lead to racial good-will. In Nashville, Tenn., in 1914, a disastrous fire destroyed the homes of hundreds of families, white and Negro, the latter considerably in the majority. Led by the Commercial Club, the strongest organization of white business men, and by the Negro Board of Trade, with similar influence

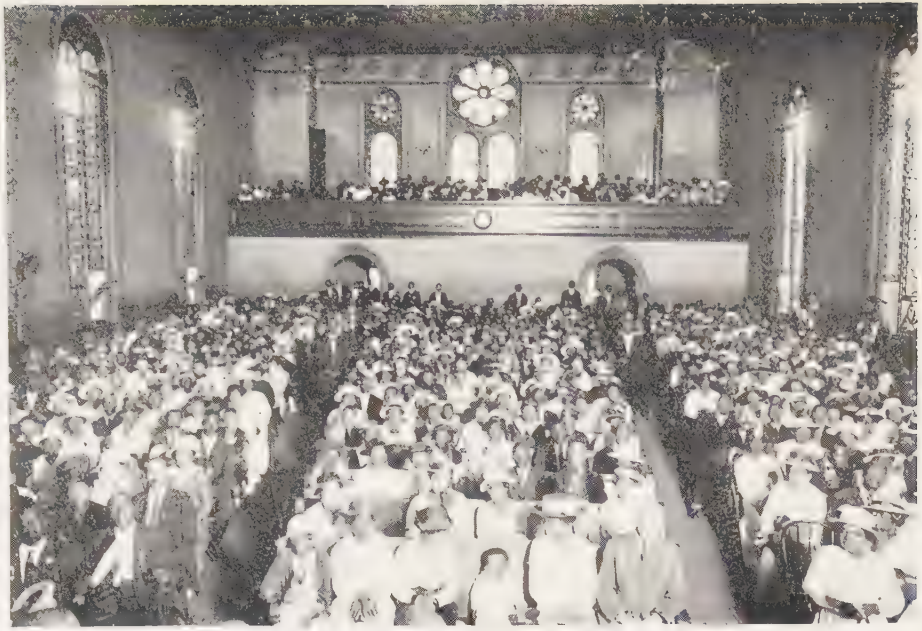
among Negro business men, the representatives of many white and Negro organizations rallied together to meet the emergency. They formed coöperative committees of white and Negro members and a joint staff of white and Negro investigators and visitors. The city government through the charities commission and the police department joined hands with the coöperating citizens.

Families in distress were visited by investigators who carefully ascertained their needs. Household goods and supplies were bought in car-load lots with money contributed liberally by hundreds of donors of both races. Working zealously together for about two months, these coöperating neighbors reëstablished about five hundred white and Negro families in houses, provided them with necessities for starting housekeeping again, and, finally, visited each reëstablished household to see that all had been well done and to deliver a parting message of good cheer and good-will.

This and other community activities were parts of nearly ten years of racial coöperation in meeting community needs. Starting in one of the needy Negro neighborhoods with a little settlement house, prophetically called "Bethlehem House," founded and fostered through the joint efforts of Southern white women of the Woman's Missionary Council, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who had been interested by "Mother" Sawyer, a saintly Negro woman, and of the Social Science Department of Fisk University, a leading Negro college founded and supported by Northern churches and philanthropists, such racial coöperation had grown until it had spread its influence into many avenues of the city's life. Begun as the earnest effort of a few men and women of the two races to serve the needs of their neglected Negro neighbors, it spread to include white and Negro colleges, five

white and Negro church denominations, white and Negro commercial organizations, and departments of the city government. They coöperated in efforts for better housing, wholesome recreation, vocational instruction, employment placement, home improvement, and for protection of neglected Negro districts. This coöperation developed until in 1920 a committee of white citizens met a similar committee of Negro citizens, thus representing the entire city, and adopted plans and undertook activities for the welfare of the whole city and the betterment of race relations. Thus, by gradual steps, led by philanthropic and Christian-minded men and women, through sudden misfortune of fire and the appeal of its victims and through joint effort to soften the lot of the neglected, the whole community became conscious of the mutual interests of all classes and both races.

Church coöperation leads to better understanding. In Atlanta, in 1916, a Committee on Church Coöperation was formed composed of representatives from the ministry and laity of white evangelical denominations. Among several "standing committees" was one on "race relationship." This committee occasionally held joint meetings with the Negro ministers. In February, 1919, a regional conference of the Interchurch World Movement was held under the auspices of this Committee on Church Coöperation. Among the "findings" or declarations of the conference was a statement about the obligation of white churchmen to Negroes. It said, "Loyalty to our lofty ideal of democracy and to our Master . . . demands that we shall not pause until the Negro in America shall have justice equal to that of the white man and an opportunity for the full development of the highest possibilities of his personality." The conference specified the



A Negro City Church

The highest expression of Negro life is through their Church, one of the two organizations the race can call its own. Through the Negro and white churches, satisfactory racial contacts may be made which will help to remove prejudice and suspicions and restore confidence and good-will.

following obligations: that "full justice be done the Negro" in the courts; that a "radical change for the better" be made in Negro housing and neighborhood conditions; that safe and comfortable provisions be made for Negroes in public travel; and that adequate provision be made for Negro education.

Following this conference and pronouncement, these white men called some leading Negro ministers of Atlanta to a meeting and proposed a parallel Negro Committee on Church Coöperation. These two parallel general committees have since held meetings,—weekly separate meetings and monthly joint meetings. Some results have flowed from their joint efforts: rumors of race clashes have been run down and allayed; a junior high school and better grammar schools for Negroes have been promised by the city; a tract of land for a Negro park has been bought and given to the city; and other things have been done to improve conditions and race relations. The plan has fostered mutual understanding and has offered "the Negro the privilege of coöperating with the white man in a work of common concern, which work hitherto has been done by the white man for the Negro.[1]

These efforts led to the proposal of "The Christian Council of Atlanta," composed of two counselors from the laity and the pastor of each church, white and Negro, in the city. Through proposed conferences, surveys, and programs which may be adopted by the churches upon recommendation of their ambassadors in council, those who have led this movement believe they will see a new day for race relations in Atlanta.

[1] "The Atlanta Plan of Interracial Coöperation" (pamphlet), by James Morton, published by the Commission on Interracial Coöperation, Atlanta, Ga.

Efficient coöperation in division of labor. In Cincinnati, about four years ago, a young Negro[1] trained in social science at Fisk University and the Yale Graduate School, during leisure hours from his teaching in a public school, began a survey of the Negro life and race relations in that city along lines he had been taught. With some charts, graphically setting forth some of the facts he had found, and the coöperative plans he proposed, he gained the interest of the Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of the city and the Executive Secretary of the Council of Social Agencies. Impressed by the plans outlined for a coöperative welfare association, through these two men arrangements were made for the full-time service of the young man to work out his program. After three years of constructive work, with representatives selected by active organizations and agencies including churches and general societies and with informal attendants from departments of the city government, a Negro welfare association is functioning with large results. More than a score of organizations and agencies have agreed to an efficient coöperative division of activities. The executives of the coöperating agencies meet in a common conference for planning their work together. All coöperate through the Council of Social Agencies. The Negroes took part in 1921 in raising the money for the "Community Chest." They astonished everybody by the number of givers among them and the amount of money they contributed.

Coöperative organization may be general. One of the white men from Nashville and one from Atlanta, who had been active in the coöperative movements de-

[1] See descriptive article by James H. Robinson who developed the plan, "Proceedings of the Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City," *Proceedings of the 46th Annual Conference, 1919,* pp. 524-531.

scribed above, saw the tense racial situation, especially in the South, following the Armistice and the return of Negro soldiers from France. They called a few "interracially-minded" white and Negro citizens together and formed the Commission on Interracial Coöperation. This Commission, with finances drawn mainly from the War Work Council, Y.M.C.A., has developed interracial committees in more than seven hundred cities and counties in eleven Southern states. Large results in preventing race clashes, educating public opinion through the press and pulpit, conferences and efforts to improve Negro education, and along other lines have been obtained.

On October 6-7, 1920, under the auspices of this commission, about one hundred representative white women from all parts of the South met in conference at Memphis, Tenn., following a preliminary conference of two white women with ten Negro women of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, at Tuskegee, Alabama. Four Negro women met with them and discussed the experiences, feelings, and attitudes of Negro women.[1] This Women's Interracial Conference called attention to possible causes of friction in domestic service, in child welfare, sanitation and housing, education, travel, justice in the courts and the public press in the desire "that everything which hinders the establishment of confidence, peace, justice, and righteousness in our land may be removed," and "that there shall be better understanding and good-will in our midst." The white women present have carried the message to be endorsed by other groups of white women all over the South. A perma-

[1] The Negro women were Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Mrs. Elizabeth Ross Haynes, Mrs. Robert R. Moton, and Mrs. Booker T. Washington.

nent interracial committee has been formed, and the Southeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs has adopted a corresponding statement of coöperative principles.

In the foregoing descriptions of practical experience we have clear accounts of types of activities through the Church, the school, the home, the State, and the spontaneous, voluntary associations, that illustrate the new world into which the two races are emerging and the new way of adjusting their interests in that world. With the discoveries of science and the inventions of genius during the past century, our civilized world should no longer be one in which there is not enough food, shelter, clothing, and comforts to go around. Steamships, railroads, and automobiles, electric lights, telephones, and telegraph, and thousands of other conveniences are making all groups, nations, and races near neighbors. Our new world has made class and racial contacts less and less physical and biological, but more and more mental and cultural.[1] The success or failure of the American Negro in assimilating and using the knowledge and culture of his day has been mainly determined by whether or not he has been shut out of the occupations and experiences in school, Church, and State. Through these avenues to a very great extent, the feeling, thinking, and acting of the civilized world find expression, and individuals and groups appropriate and make their own the "mental property" of that world.

Mutual economic and life interests. We have passed from a "deficit economy" of the past when no group had enough to go around to a "surplus economy" of the present when, if fairly distributed, there may be enough and

[1] Commons, John R., *Races and Immigrants in America,* pp. 19-21.

to spare. Furthermore, the good treatment of one's neighbor which will help him to develop and prosper is of great advantage to oneself. Truly it blesses him that gives and him that takes.

In race relations in America the old feelings, attitudes, and habits of action, developed under the pioneer days, and its "deficit economy," have left a system of thinking and acting from the past as though we were still on a basis of classes of bond and free, when we are in the new day of freemen and plenty. The slave system was, in truth, a "deficit economy." The "Seaboard Slave States" [1] and other books by Olmsted, the descriptions of earlier travelers, as well as the statistics given in DeBow's *Review* and Helper's *Impending Crisis,* give positive evidence that the system was economically unsound. Woodrow Wilson [2] says, "The system of slave labor condemned the South to prosecute agriculture at the cost of a tremendous waste of resources." Gradually free labor in free states became alarmed for its own future. The slave system also ran counter to the Christian conscience of many, both within and without the states where it prevailed. From the earliest days the opposition to Christianizing slaves because Christian baptism carried with it the idea of freedom [3] aroused those who saw the ultimate danger to the general religious welfare. When missionaries worked among the slaves they found such a response as to increase the concern about the development of these persons. In other fields besides the economic and the religious, men gradually awoke to the

[1] Olmsted, Frederick Law, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States,* New York, 1856; *A Journey in the Back Country; A Journey Through Texas; The Cotton Kingdom,* New York, 1861, reprinted by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

[2] *Division and Reunion,* pp. 127-128.

[3] Woodson, C. G., *History of the Negro Church,* pp. 4, 6.

common interdependence of all upon the condition of a part of the population.

After the coming of Negro emancipation and the readjustment of the first few decades following, America became absorbed in other affairs,—the tariff, free silver, the Spanish-American War, the Philippines, and the world struggle for democratic governments. The problems of domestic race relations assumed a smaller place in public thinking; but the old ways and attitudes and frictional contacts continued. There grew up the principle of dealing with the questions somewhat as though the two races inhabited separate countries and were distinct in interests and ideals, instead of viewing their relations as mutual and their interests and ideals as interdependent. In later years, as the inevitable connection of interests and obligations and the effects of keeping the Negro down[1] have begun to dawn upon the mind of America, a new basis of relations is beginning to receive recognition from the leaders of both races, and a new basis of friendly contacts is felt and begins to operate.

Their joint interest in labor, trade, government, health, education, morals, and religion are so inextricably interwoven that they cannot be separated so long as the two races inhabit the same soil.[2] Their hopes and fears, their ambitions and their ideals rise or fall together. Their common welfare makes action together in harmony the only sure basis of progress. The impulse toward such mutual action is as fundamental in nature and in human nature as the tendency to struggle in conflict against each other. The theory of the "struggle for the life of others" is as scientifically sound as that of the "struggle for exist-

[1] Murphy, Edward Gardner, *The Basis of Ascendency*, pp. 154-171.

[2] Compare Jefferson, Thomas, work cited, pp. 266-268.

ence." The belief that physical force is the guiding principle for setting things right in social groups grows partly out of the scientific idea that life is a struggle, where nature is "red in tooth and claw." That idea has been applied to human society; it has been accepted that "the survival of the fittest" in human life meant in the main the survival of the strongest. For example, Bernhardi and others in Germany, while counting the value of intelligence in national life, ridiculed the idea of mercy and kindness and gave the nation a popular philosophy of brutal force. This idea was not absent from other peoples. It ended in the great nightmare of the World War.

During the past fifty years, so loud and dominant has been this view that the equally sound idea of the struggle for the existence of others has received little attention. The "mutual aid principle" is wide-spread among lower animals. It has been one of the greatest factors in man's achieving his position as "king of living creatures." Man's higher social virtues have their roots in this factor of "otherism." [1] Group feelings, attitudes, and habits based upon mutual aid—emotions elaborated out of "the struggle for the life of others"—have become so ingrained in some human beings as to dominate brute emotions and traits. In others, the mutual aid habits soon break down under changing conditions.

Group interdependence between mental and social factors. The growing knowledge of group psychology indicates how readily one national or racial group reacts

[1] The biological basis of mutual aid or coöperation has been treated by several writers of scientific standing. Henry Drummond in his *Ascent of Man* was one of the first. Kropotkin, the Russian, has written extensively on coöperation among lower animals. Vernon Kellogg has recently stated this idea admirably in an article, "The Biologist Speaks of Death," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1921. The writings of many others have given us ample biological ground for our view of human mutual aid.

to the feelings and attitudes of another.[1] All our sociology teaches that races and classes living upon the same soil are inseparably linked one with another in labor, trade, government and culture,[2] to say nothing of the interaction of tribes and nations in different lands.

Race prejudices, frictions, fears, suspicions, and antagonisms cannot be attacked in the abstract and in general. They die and decay in the face of pleasant experience during the contacts of individuals and groups of the two races as they strive in "the regular go of things" of daily life. In factories and in the fields where produce follows labor; in the schools and colleges where children and youths are trained; in the courts and other departments of the commonwealth where citizens adjust their differences; in the home where parents and children nurture the common heritage of personal habits, traditions, and customs; in the Church, where justice, mercy, and communion with Jehovah are visioned; in the contacts and experiences, pleasurable or painful, in the routine of life, —hostile feelings, prejudiced beliefs and attitudes, unfounded fears and groundless suspicions are aroused and nourished or are removed and replaced by pleasant sensations, by friendly feeling, by mutual understanding, and by coöperative good-will. The appreciation of the likenesses in each race on both sides of the racial line and friendly habits of action come in this way.

Fair play and friendly action will follow the consciousness of common likeness just as friction and fear have been the results of emphasis on racial differences. No reasonable person will deny that racial fears, prejudices,

[1] McDougall, William, *An Introduction to Social Psychology.* Section II, pp. 271-358; Pillsbury, W. B., *The Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism,* pp. 21-62, 186-223, 278-309.

[2] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology,* pp. 96-120, 194-268; Maciver, R. M., *The Elements of Social Science,* pp. 1-11.

and suspicions are founded upon either real differences, upon misapprehension born of the imagination or are produced by ignorance. These differences, real or unreal, reside either in the conflicting interests of individuals, races, and groups or within the people themselves. Racial differences between groups have so far been proved only in outward appearances, like the different national styles of dress or color of skin. If fundamental, there are group differences of interest like the competition of nations for political power that has led to war between nations, or the conflict of merchants for trade that has led to trade war.[1]

Slowly the telephone, the telegraph, the steamship, and many other inventions are bringing people together in such wise that men and women are finding that they are fundamentally in themselves very much alike. They are born, they hunger, they love, they hate, they coöperate; they fight, they propagate, they grow old, and they die. As the means of communication have been multiplied, conflicts of interests also have been emphasized. So long as groups and races retain the old ideas, notions, attitudes, and ways, they remain apart. And just so long will old fears, prejudices, and suspicions keep alive. Truly the avenues through which pleasurable contacts may be made that create new attitudes and ways, give the spirit of brotherhood the opportunity to operate. A rapid description of the avenues comprised in our principal organizations and types of volunteer agencies will make clear their utility for such contacts.

The family and home as avenues of pleasurable contacts. The Negro home as discussed in Chapter II showed the long march to the present Negro home life

[1] See Appendix for the question of mental capacity of the Negro.

from the slave cabin family, the members of which could be separated at any moment by the wish or the death or the business failure of the owner. It is viewed in this chapter from the side of the family circle as a source of good-will in race relations.

The home is the abiding place of the family and the bulwark of the highest and dearest in modern life. The family institution and its castle, the home, require that the marriage bond of the two whom law and religion unite as one for better or for worse even unto death, be protected by both the Church and the State in their most sacred obligation. The husband and father has the responsibility of providing support for the family according to a standard of living in keeping with the relation of the family to the general welfare. The feelings and customs of the community and the nation should make it possible for him to get work, to hold it, and to be advanced in position and pay unhampered by creed or color. The handicaps of the Negro family in this respect have been touched upon in Chapters II and III. The wife and mother should have support and shelter, that she may bear and bless with loving hands and heart-throbs the little ones who pass that way into the work-a-day world. Her time and mind should be entirely freed from bread-winning, that she may have strength, leisure, and renewal of spirit for the nurture of the young. The Negro mother has the heaviest burden to bear of any mother in America. Three times as many Negro married women as white women were gainfully employed in 1910.

The children need food and clothing, plenty of each, and the shelter that protects both health and morals. They require freedom from premature toil, affording time to grow, chances to learn, places to play, opportunity to feel

obedience to the authority of parents, to sense the ideals of clean living, and to catch the traditions of truth and beauty and goodness as anchors when the storms of passion rise and the billows of selfishness and prejudice roll.

The majority of Negro children in America to-day live in houses either on plantation or farm, in town or in the city, that are grossly deficient in ordinary sanitary conveniences. Many of these homes are one or two-room shanties or crowded tenements where the most intimate acts of life cannot have the privacy which modesty demands. Before the tender years of the early teens are past, more of these children than any others in country, town, and city are loaded with toil. In cities they are largely deprived of places to stretch their bodies in play, and in the South there are inadequate schools in which to develop their minds and spirits. Mother and father, when the latter has not been snatched away by injustice or exploitation or has not decamped, usually go out to work in the gray hours of the morning and return in the dim darkness, after a long, laborious day. The little children are frequently locked indoors with food and water within reach like dumb animals, and older children, if not at work, are free to roam the streets or countryside until parents come home.

Influence of race relations on white and Negro homes. The home is probably the greatest avenue of pleasurable daily contacts between the races. In thousands of white homes to-day the touch of Negro servants influences feelings and attitudes of white people more than many realize. After long experience in placement of Negro servants in thousands of white homes, and observation of conditions in small towns and cities, Mrs. Haynes

says:[1] "The white woman who employs the Negro woman in her home to-day usually asks how much work she can get out of her and how cheaply, while the Negro woman usually figures how little she can give in return. The personal interest of each in the other as coöperators in the greatest of enterprises, the home, seems to be a diminishing part of their bargain, quickly made and easily broken."

Few white women know that there are many Negro residences not far from their own, where women of education and refinement hold sway by all the intangible forces that flow out from the hearthside to uphold civilization. Whether white women recognize it or not, these women and these homes play an indispensable part in making life livable and lovable in their communities and in the nation. Furthermore, white people cannot neglect their relation to these homes if racial peace is to reign. More than seventy-five out of every one hundred Negro homes are supported by workers practically all of whom have white employers. How many white employers concern themselves about the homes of their Negro employees? How many white men who think and speak about protecting, even with lynch law, their own homes and women ever give serious consideration to the inroads made by white men upon Negro homes and the pressure put upon defenseless Negro women and girls? The mulatto asks an answer to this question. How many white housewives know the surroundings or see the inside of the homes of their faithful servants upon whose health and skill the comfort of their own families depends?

[1] Unpublished manuscript; see also Haynes, Elizabeth Ross, "Three Million of Negro Women at Work," *Southern Workman*, February, 1921.

The Church an avenue of racial coöperation. The Church doubtless ranks next to the home as the conservator of our ideals of brotherhood and justice. In all ages and in all climes men have looked to religion for assistance in their life problems. Out of their efforts to find God and to secure His help have grown their doctrine and ritual to guide religious activities. The Christian Church is the institution that brings down to us the ideals of her Founder and the experience and ritual of those who have followed in His train. Pagan elements sometimes crept in and caused many to misjudge her work and her mission, but as time passes, the Church shakes these off and moves on toward the goal of the Fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man.

Churches in America have had New World problems to deal with from the founding of the colonies. The same year the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock in New England, twenty Africans were sold into slavery in Virginia under the shadow of the English Church, and human slavery, the stumbling-block for hundreds of years to come, was placed upon our shores. In the years which followed, the vested economic interest in land, in slaves, in slave-trade and its profits so blurred the vision of many churchmen that the humanitarian and religious recognition of personality in all humankind and the abolition of slavery was postponed.

When agricultural, industrial, and commercial motives could no longer silence conscience, many church denominations split on the question of holding human beings in bondage,—and they are still struggling to bridge the chasm which the controversy created. To-day a stumbling-block is the question of admitting the dark-skinned former slave into the reorganized brotherhood. So long as white churchmen regard Negro churchmen as

anything less than human beings, full fairness in thought about them and brotherly action toward them are improbable dreams. To deny their full personality and at the same time give equality in industry, politics, and education are impracticable. So long as Negro churchmen meet white churchmen with distrust and dissimulation, genuine good-will and coöperative action are remote expectations.

The white church has the resources in men and money to do what it wills in America. The success in securing prohibition legislation is only one illustration of what it can do when it wills. The clergy have the ear of the people, and they can tell them that their religious professions and their democratic pronouncements must bring peace and good-will into the relations of white people and Negro people in America in order to convince a waiting world of American sincerity in promoting coöperation in international relations.

The Negro Church forced through discrimination. A description of the Negro Church and its progress has been sketched in Chapter II. For our purpose here it is important to point out that the Negro Church arose mainly out of the denial to Negro churchmen of full fellowship in mixed organizations, reënforced by a very human desire on the part of Negroes for self-determination.[1] The Negro Church is one of the two organizations the race can call its own. The other is the secret society. Schools, theaters, and business enterprises are partly under white control or competition. The Negro Church, except for its property titles and the general laws, needs to consult no white people about its purposes, plans, organizations, or leaders. A white person rarely visits a Negro church. In a recent survey of

[1] Wright, R. R., *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 113-14; 166-67.

Negro churches of seven rural counties in three Southern states, white persons were unknown in the Sunday-schools, and less than a score of churches out of a total of 247 reported that a white minister ever preached for them or that a white person ever paid them a visit. Such visits might remove a world of suspicion. Only an occasional Negro darkens the doors of a white congregation. How different from a past generation! The separate Negro organizations have provided openings for development of church leaders, ministers, and laymen, who may experiment in molding their following along lines of their own feelings. That this has led to grave mistakes at times is not to be denied, but many excellencies have been achieved that would not have been obtained. These prophesy great prospects for real interracial coöperation. Those denominations that have both white and Negro members can also contribute a powerful influence in that direction through according full standing among laity and clergy to their Negro members who achieve the best in character and zeal.

Satisfactory racial contacts through churches. This avenue for satisfactory racial contacts which will remove prejudices and suspicions and restore confidence and good-will has not been utilized to a great extent. Ministers' conferences, laymen's conferences, and the exchange of speakers would promote action on common interests, involving thousands of both races, and inevitably would lead to better feeling and understanding, to tolerance, and to coöperative action. Religious education in Sunday-school, in Bible schools, in conferences and institutes are additional means for the exchange of services. Community service through settlements, surveys, and through trained workers carrying out joint programs of community betterment, especially for Negro

neighborhoods, opens up a vision of coöperative service which will bless each race whether it gives or receives. The good beginnings already made by several denominations and individual churches have spread widening waves of good feeling and new attitudes of friendliness. The recent action of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in creating a Commission on the Church and Race Relations made up of churchmen of both races opens almost unlimited opportunity for promoting racial coöperation. When thus welcomed in cooperation, as men and women and fellow-followers of the lowly Nazarene, Negro churchmen will respond in kind, and one of the greatest strokes for interracial peace will have been made.

Educational institutions may promote coöperation. The school, meaning the educational institutions of all grades, is the means of conserving and passing on to each succeeding generation the intellectual and moral experience and heritage of our civilization. Schools for white children and youths are liberally supported either by public funds or private generosity.

Many public schools and practically all the private schools for Negroes are teaching Negroes ideals and habits of sanitation, health, order, law, obedience to authority, home and family manners, many things which schools generally leave to parents at home. The mission schools and colleges for Negroes in the South for the past fifty years have been practically training-homes for the thousands who have lived on their campuses and in their dormitories. In this connection one of the greatest pieces of interracial coöperation has been carried out almost unheralded. The white teachers who have lived among these Negroes have been among the most powerful means of understanding between the races and of as-

surance to Negroes. It is a striking fact, usually overlooked by those who fan racial fears, that with the thousands of white teachers in contact with Negroes for fifty years, no records of intermarriages or amalgamation have found soil upon which to grow.

Now that hostile legislation, growing antagonism, and other influences are breaking up these relationships of white teachers and Negro students, thousands of the best young minds of Negroes will never see the better soul of white folk, and hundreds of white persons will no longer be able to interpret to their own people a sympathetic understanding of the soul of black folk. Where separate schools exist, through school boards, supervising committees, and the contact of white and Negro teachers in auxiliary organizations of the school, through study groups and educational conferences, opportunities for amicable racial contacts may be increased in dealing with common educational interests and meeting educational problems vital to both races.

Coöperative contacts through government. Touching our every-day lives at even more points than the Church and the school, and most profoundly affecting the home, is the organized machinery of the government. Through its arms of city, county, and local community, the national and state governments fix the conditions surrounding all our activities in work time and leisure time. Public school support is determined by government. The safeguards of the family, the home, and the Church are made by it. So far as concerns the Negro, the officers of the law—policemen, constables, school boards, health inspectors, judges of the courts, and the like,—all white men as a rule,—embody for him the meaning of the State and the law. And there can be no getting around the fact that this contact for the Negro in Amer-

ica is not, as a rule, a pleasant experience. When in cities like Atlanta, Chicago or Washington, the nation's capitol, Negroes did not get proper protection from the police during the bombing of their homes or the mobbing of their men and had to resort to arms in their own defense, when they did not get reparation in the courts after the trouble, one sees not isolated atrocities that just "happened," but extreme examples of a tacit procedure which has failed to place Negro Americans fully within the law.

This cannot continue with safety to white men and women. If Negroes are not eligible to police forces and are not given equal standing in the courts, the white community pays the penalty from the inability of white officers to prevent crime and apprehend criminals. So long as the state and Federal governments regard Negroes as persons to be taxed but not to be represented by those of their own free choice, racial coöperation will be hobbled, and democracy cannot function. The Negro people comprise about one-tenth of the nation. In different localities they range from one to fifty per cent of the population. May any community or its leaders expect general and permanent progress in health and morals, in law and order, or in other public matters until the Negro neighborhood is recognized as an integral part of the community, and its citizens are given an opportunity freely to participate?

Voluntary organizations may coördinate interracial activities. Let us look now at the voluntary agencies that have grown up more or less spontaneously to supplement the work of the home, the school, the Church, and the State. The examples described earlier in the chapter illustrate what an effective coördinating force such organizations may be. In almost every Negro lo-

cality there are one or more secret societies that wield a wide influence. Almost every community, white and Negro, has its women's club, men's club, commercial organizations, labor organizations, farmers' organizations, Christian Associations, and welfare or social service societies. These are most valuable avenues for amicable relations by means of joint committees of the two races, exchange of speakers, and councils and conferences to plan and to work for mutual ends. The interracial organizations that may be built up from these separate group agencies are most effective when made up of responsible representatives of agencies as are described in this chapter. The exact form of such interracial organizations or committees may vary to meet local conditions. There is now enough information from experiments of the past years in such cities as Nashville, Atlanta, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and other cities, and such rural localities as Calhoun, Ala., Adams County, Miss., and Nottaway County, Va., to serve as suggestions for almost any community.

Some cardinal principles have already come to the surface out of past experience. First, constructive plans and work to meet some definite needs of a part or all the community, rather than lengthy discussions of "the race problem," are the surest way to develop interest and to hold it. The American impulse is to act. Discussion that aims toward action is the only kind which does not soon kill interest and enthusiasm.

Second, it is not sufficient merely to fight evils and to cure community sores. Treatment for typhoid and tuberculosis are certainly needed when those ills appear. Opposition to mobs and lynchers are needed, God knows. An ounce of prevention, however, is worth ten pounds of cure. Constructive social betterment to improve condi-

tions of Negroes and promote friendly race relations on the farms, in the factories, schools, trains, streets, market-places, and elsewhere and thus prevent racial clashes, is far more important and effective than social medicine to palliate the eruptions that break out from chronic community evils.

Third, any community that attempts such preventive efforts may well map out a definite program of work. It may not be exhaustive or wide in scope, but it should be definite, be aimed at specific needs, and calculated to bring results which all the people may see. Where vision, patience, and financial support are available, a careful survey of the field may well be made, and a program of work be prepared from the facts obtained, before other activities are undertaken. The time is not far away, let us hope, when those with money will see the need of some national interracial effort for a coöperative clearing house to promote such local coöperation. The churches have here the opportunity to serve America and the world.

Fourth, the personnel of such community organization is of two types: the community-minded citizens, white and Negro, with interracial tolerance, and the executive, specially trained in social work. The first type of persons should come into mutual council or organizations as representatives of agencies or organized group and racial interests. They are the ones, and the only ones, competent to adopt plans and settle policies which will affect the daily lives of all. Professional social service agents or experts can do no more than get these groups together and lay facts and ideas before them. The people of both races can be led to the waters of wisdom, but they themselves must decide to drink.

It should be borne in mind, too, that the representa-

tives should, as far as possible, be chosen by their own group or agency and that there should be a Negro executive on the Negro side of the equation. There are so many details requiring constant attention if success is to be assured, that, in all but the least populous communities, executives should be paid, and service consequently required. Executives on both sides of the racial divide in such delicate and difficult relations should be persons who can act promptly when action is necessary and who can wait patiently when action may best be deferred.

Fifth, to insure satisfactory contacts as members of the two races strive together toward mutual ends, there is need of some appreciation of distinctive racial attitudes, impulses, and habits of thought and action as indicated in Chapters III and V. The Negro representatives come into such councils possessing, among other things, a keen response to personalities, with pleasure in friendly conversation, with a warmth of cheerfulness, and a play of wit. The white representatives have a sharp perception of the economic values and relations and less of the humorous and more of the aggressive, executive cast of mind. On the Negro side, indirect approach or patient waiting is the method of action with difficult problems, while on the white side there is strenuous pursuit that overrides the difficulty or smashes it.

It frequently happens, therefore, that the white members of such organizations become impatient at the slower moving methods of Negroes. Negroes, on the other hand, often chafe because of the pushing, executive methods of white members. Understanding and insight into such variations in reactions may forestall much friction and smooth the path for many negotiations. Of course, there are Negroes who have so far absorbed the American idea of haste and efficiency that many of the

human equations on the Negro side are overlooked. These persons, however, are often not as successful in dealing with their own as they would have others believe. Many more coöperative efforts of the two races would succeed in their purpose if those promoting them would take more care that their minds meet.

Finally, real coöperation means operating together, each mindful of the full interest of the other or ready to give and take for the sake of reaching a common goal. Where one race or the other thinks more highly of itself or of its interests than it ought to think, such joint operation is practically unworkable. As the American ideals propagated in our homes, our schools, churches, government, and voluntary agencies impress themselves upon Negroes, it is no longer possible to treat them as less than freemen or as children. They may not know all the American ways of doing things, but they are now awake to what it means to be free. Negro progress in agriculture, industry, art, literature, science, and religion is now a fact recognized by all fair-minded observers. White Americans are gradually coming to see that race relations in the future require that they work not simply *for,* but *with* Negroes.

The ideas that the welfare of one race is bound up with the welfare of the other, that what helps one helps the other and what injures one cannot help the other, and that coöperative action and friendly contact are the way of progress for both races is slowly but surely being carried over to the people.

Popular education needed. Popular educational activity among Negroes and white people to inform each race about the other and about race relations is imperative for such purposes. This might be called propaganda. If so, it is the kind of propaganda that, instead of ad-

vertising differences, fears, suspicions, and frictions, lays stress upon racial likenesses, points out instances of good-will in deeds, stimulates justice by publicity of examples of it more than the accounts of injustice, and informs each race of the better sides of the other race. The value of such efforts has been illustrated by the work of such newspapers as the *Columbia State,* the *Nashville American,* the *New York Evening Post,* the *New York World,* by the Southern University Commission on the Race Question, by the Southern Publicity Committee, and by propaganda activity of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation, the War Work Councils of the Y.M.C.A. and of the Y.W.C.A., the Home Missions Council, the Council of Women for Home Missions, and the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and other organizations the past few years.

On the whole, Negroes know the life among white people better than the latter know the inner side of life among Negro people. Negroes, especially in the South, prepare the food for most of the middle and upper classes of white people; they clean their homes, wash their clothing, care for their children, nurse their sick, assist at their marriages and in the last sad rites of their dead. Night and day, from season to season, they are closely associated with white people in their homes, in their offices, and on their pleasure trips. White people are so absorbed in their own affairs and so readily assume that they have understood the simple folk who serve them, that much that goes on among the Negro people is unknown to them.

These contacts of domestic servants with white employers have been the means of the Negro's learning and gaining much from white people, who, in turn, have

gathered considerable from the Negro. Times have changed. Domestic and personal servants no longer form Negro opinion to the extent they did formerly. Much of the feeling and thinking of Negroes are stimulated by the Negro platform, pulpit, and press. The personnel of these agencies knows little of and sees nothing now of the inner life of white people in home and office. The men and women of color, on the one hand, who largely influence Negro life to-day get their impressions and knowledge of the white world from casual contacts on the streets, from the people they meet in the courts or in the stores, from the white policeman on the beat, and from the white newspaper, which usually "plays up" conventional ideas about Negroes and speaks editorially about them without knowing much of the best among them.

On the other hand, white men and women, except an occasional workman or salesman, rarely enter the better types of Negro homes, as mentioned above. White people are accustomed to draw their impressions about Negroes from the crime accounts of white newspapers, from conversations, from observations of and reports from their Negro servants, and from what they see of the idle loafers about the streets. In many cases, these apparent idlers on the streets are waiters, porters, and other domestic and personal service employees who have "time off."

The first and most influential avenue of popular educational propaganda is the press, white and Negro. The newspapers of our land hold the feelings and attitudes of the people in the hollow of their hands. In the past this has not been as true of the Negro press as the white, but the Negro's "fourth estate" is gradually coming into a place of power and responsibility, as Professor

Kerlin's compilation of Negro editorial opinion very well shows.[1] Lynchings have been fostered, mobs and riots have been precipitated largely through the sinister propaganda of certain white newspapers. The Grand Jury fixed a part of the blame for the Atlanta riots of 1906 upon a local newspaper. The Washington riot of 1919 was partly due to the false reports published by a leading newspaper. On the other hand, many cities have been saved from racial clashes by timely news and editorials of their high-class dailies.

The next agency of popular education for spreading the truths of mutual interests of the two races is the American pulpit. Several of the larger white denominations divided on Negro slavery. Large sections of the white pulpit have been silent in later years when interracial problems have assumed serious aspects. Large sections of the Negro pulpit often have been ignorant, although friendly, and thus limited in power for a better interracial program. They have, nevertheless, always extended a welcome to the white minister when infrequently he chose to come and break the bread of life to his black brethren. When the very homes, government, and communities of all are at stake in the opportunity or lack of it for even the weakest, can the apostles of Him who came to seek the least of these be silent?

A third means of popular education is the lecture platform. In the past, white men and women have been occasional speakers in Negro schools and colleges. There is a larger Negro world that looks for enlightenment. Its churches are the main channels for such activity. The avenue here opened to white speakers is endless. The by-product will be better feeling and understanding between the races. The white world has its church lec-

[1] See Kerlin, R. T., *The Voice of the Negro.*

ture platform, its open forums, its Chautauquas, and similar places of popular education. Rarely is a Negro lecturer, musician, or singer thought of for these places. Many of them would be highly acceptable to white audiences. In North Carolina and South Carolina in 1920-21, Negroes spoke to white students in a number of colleges. These experiments proved popular. They can be multiplied with profit.

The moving picture has come as the greatest instrument for stimulating intelligence since the invention of the printed page. In most instances where it has touched the matter of race relations, it has been used to arouse and inflame prejudice instead of allaying and removing it. Moving pictures can be used to bring to each race views of the better side of the life of the other race.

Another type of agency for popular education in mutuality of race relations is such gatherings as conferences, Sunday-school conventions, Christian Endeavor conventions, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. meetings, educational and community conferences and associations, business and fraternal organizations. Negroes have not usually felt a full welcome to such gatherings organized and directed by white people. One Negro who has had much experience in such work expressed it thus: "A welcome is extended to everybody to come; but of course, 'everybody' does not include us Negroes."

Newspapers, the pulpit, the organizations and agencies that hold conferences and conventions, cannot ignore matters so vital to the future of democracy in America. The ignorance of the two races in regard to each other and to the oneness of their interests is oftentimes astonishing and is of most serious moment to a nation which calls itself intelligent and Christian. Race hatred, lawlessness, and disorder are usually caused by the self-willed,

ignorant Many led by the selfish Few. When we gaze upon the results of their follies and their crimes in disrupted communities, destroyed homes, and murdered citizens, America should no longer tolerate the lethargy of some of her leaders and the weakness of her means of popular education. The forces of greed, of war, and mistaken self-interest have held the front of the stage too long. The press, the pulpit, the platform, and conferences need to teach people that their greatest advancement will come through treating their neighbors as they would wish their neighbors to treat them.

Mutual inheritance of ideals. As America looks out upon a war-torn world, she hears the Macedonian cry of the nations. Peace conferences and disarmament conferences may set up the framework; only the good-will of the Master can create the spirit of neighborliness and regard for common rights. If America is to contribute a large part to the new spirit of the times, she must come into the concert of nations with a basic harmony among her own racial and national groups and classes. Her physical, economic, political, social, and spiritual health is inseparably bound up with the welfare of all her citizens, especially her Negro citizens, who constitute one out of every ten of her people and who have shared in all the toil and sacrifice of her past progress.

The present problems and future prospects make it imperative that all work together for mutual ends. We need, as never before in our national history, to cherish our mutual inheritance of common ideals. The first of these is justice in law and in everyday dealing among all, especially between white and Negro peoples. This is the special responsibility of the white people, as the making of the law, and custom, as well as the control of community life, are more largely in their hands. In the

many daily dealings between tenant farmer, farm hand and planter; between landlord and tenant; between employer and employee; and between man and man, there are many painful experiences for the ignorant and the defenseless of all classes and races. They fall most painfully upon the Negro, who stands at the margin of our democracy. A higher ideal of practical justice is one of the greatest needs of the whole situation.

In the assurance of justice to Negroes is involved the whole question of respect for law and order. All Americans need more and more to learn that their only safeguard for democracy is profound respect for and obedience to the organized methods of government which they and their ancestors have established. He who takes the law into his own hands to avenge what he considers a violation of law is himself the greater law-breaker. Those who because of race or wealth or "pull" think they can violate the law with impunity and who undertake to do so are undermining the very structure that assures them protection and liberty. For, underlying the ideal of justice is the ideal of American democracy. Taxation without representation applied to black men in 1921 is dangerous to democracy and as unjust as when applied to white men in 1775. Government by consent of the governed as a just principle includes Negro Americans, or it is not just. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly must apply to all, or they are secure for none. The full right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness has to be assured for all, even the humblest and blackest, or none are safe.

Closely related to the ideals of justice and of law and order is that of courtesy. Until white newspapers and persons learn to place the ordinary appellations before the names of Negro men and women, one of the

first steps in practical ideals of courtesy between the races will not have been made. Furthermore, the use of disparaging names such as "little Africa," "darktown," and "black bottom," to describe neighborhoods where Negroes live and the common habit of applying the name "darkey," "nigger," "boy," and "auntie" to Negro men and women belong to a past generation and have no place in courteous intercourse to-day. "What's in a name?" some one asks. All the feelings and attitudes associated with past ways of acting.

Courtesy requires that Negro girls and women, as well as other women, be given due consideration from all gentlemen. The blight of race prejudice presses upon them as upon no others. Their own men are often powerless to protect them, and white men seem often to act upon the assumption that Negro women have no bars which a white man is bound to regard. Negro women and girls go out to work, largely in domestic and personal service. Both the homes from which they come and the homes into which they go demand that they shall not be overborne by designing men. The modern community which allows the youth, the beauty, and the honor of these sable women to be blasted with impunity can no longer find excuse in their susceptibility, when neither law nor custom offers them protection or redress. And other women reap the whirlwind of what is sown among them. In the Day when the Searcher of Hearts shall ask an accounting, He will regard as His own the treatment which white men and women have given to the least of these.

A word needs to be said also for the Negro man of refined sensibilities who spontaneously shows deference to white women in street cars and other places with no thought other than the gentlemanly consideration which all men should show to womankind. On the other hand,

white men and women who show courtesy and respect for character and culture in color should be able to do so without the condemnation from their own group that they are Negrophiles.

Another ideal that needs mutual inculcation is the obligation of the strong to the weak. If Christian principles are to have practical application in American life, this ideal so strongly set forth by Paul is a corner-stone. The world is just awaking from the horror of a war brought on by a repudiation of this ideal. In the long turn of the years, America may find her salvation in the strength of the strong ministering to the weakness of the weak.

Finally, probably as big a problem as any other is to cultivate the ideal of respect of each race for human personality no matter what happens to be the color of the covering. Most social and racial friction the world over grows out of the disregard of persons based upon superficial sight of the complexion. Negroes, even the humblest of them, do not want to be treated as nobodies. They never did. Many of them unconsciously cry out for their outraged personalities because of the limitations placed upon them more than because of the discomforts they undergo. Men undergo untold discomforts and difficulties with fortitude when their morale is unaffected. On the other hand, the effect of present restrictions often leads Negroes to disregard the depths of human sympathy in the bosoms of white people.

In the conclusion of the matter, whether we acknowledge it or not, the inseparable inheritance of the two races binds their welfare to-day and determines their progress to-morrow. We have tried the ways of war, of repression by force at great cost and increasing turmoil. Where progress and development of the two races is

impartially studied, it becomes very clear that improvement in the intelligence and wealth of the one race has been bound up with the advancement of the other. Is it not time to capitalize this constructive, coöperative experience in the way of good-will? The task of amicable race relations at home and abroad involves the finding of ways of discovery and expression in action of this good-will. White and Negro Americans work together as men and women facing common problems in the same land—problems of economic adjustment, problems of education, problems of civic and political justice, problems of public opinion as they strive toward national ideals. There have been and doubtless will continue to be conflicting interests. Deeper than these surface waves, however, there are doubtless greater coöperative impulses and interests for those who are settled upon the same soil. Experience has shown that brutal force only increases the evils and postpones just settlement.

Patiently, persistently, with a smile on his face, the Negro has borne a large part of the heat of the furnace fires of friction. Here and there through the centuries of his trials he has touched the friendly hand of the Caucasian who has loved truth and goodness better than wealth or power. As the world struggles forward toward peace, it is not simply to get back to where we were before the World War, but far beyond—to where we may control our wealth and our intelligence to develop the beauty, usefulness, goodness, and truth in all people. The development of the Negro and the experiment of wholesome race relations in America have a potential contribution of experience to make, setting examples and illustrating principles that will affect race relations in Africa, South America, and Asia. The sincerity and the

resultant power of our religious profession of brotherhood are being tested as by fire ere America goes forth to carry the message to other lands.

As history and science open the scroll of the centuries, we see that the course of human progress has time after time been modified by religious impulses and ideals that have changed the feelings, the attitudes, and the actions of tribes and nations and races. Among the peasants of Palestine, came in the course of time, the Man of Galilee preaching that in their relations peoples and races should understand that they were children of a common Father. His life and work have changed the trend of the races by continuously moving the world toward an application of the principles of the Prince of Peace.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Supplementary to Chapters III and V

On the Question of Mental Capacity of the Negro

It is well to have at hand a brief summary of the principal scientific opinions on the question of mental capacity of the Negro. Scientific data to-day which would be a basis for drawing conclusions about the mind capacity and power or for attributing inherent inferiority to this or that branch of the human race are not available. As Retzel says,[1] "At present the Negro in Africa no doubt appears to us uncivilized, but that means undeveloped, not incapable of development. . . . The difficulty of forming a judgment about races increases where it has only been possible to observe them closely either in the abnormal state of slavery or under conditions which cannot be compared with ours. . . . He who would judge of them (Africans) should avoid adding to their unfavorable circumstances his own unfavorable prejudices."

Woodworth, the well-known psychologist, has the same view. He says:[2] "One thing the psychologist can assert with no fear of error . . . starting from the various mental processes, which are recognized in the text-books, he can assert that each of these processes is within the capabilities of each group of mankind. All have the same senses, the same instincts and emotions. All can remember the past and imagine objects not present to sense. All discriminate, compare, reason, and invent. . . . Statements to the contrary, denying to the savage powers of reasoning or abstraction or inhibition or foresight, can be dismissed at once."

At different times there have been popular types of opinion about the capacity of the Negro which attempted to prove his inferiority first through signs of subnormal physical characteristics such as length of arms and body and shape of head. Then came efforts at scientific tests of brain weights and structure and skull capacity to prove inferiority. For full discussion of such questions of ethnology, the reader may consult such books as Deniker's *Races of Man.* The best authorities conclude that there is too slender a body of scientific fact to serve as a basis of determining the mental rank of races.[3] As Wood-

[1] Retzel, Friedrich, *History of Mankind,* Vol. II, pp. 319-329.
[2] Woodworth, R. S., "Racial Differences in Mental Traits," *Science,* New Series, Vol. 31, p. 174.
[3] Woodworth, R. S., work cited, pp. 172-173.

worth says: "Whites and Negroes, though differing markedly in complexion and hair, overlap very extensively in almost every other trait; as, for example, stature. Even in brain weight, which would seem a trait of great importance in relation to intelligence and civilization, the overlapping is much more impressive than the difference. . . . If they should be jumbled together, we should never be able to separate the Negroes from the whites by aid of brain weights."

In later discussion, mental tests and observations have gained considerable attention. On this point Ferguson remarks:[1] "There has been no settled body of doctrine concerning the vastly important matter of the mental capacity of the Negro. One man has held that the Negro is equal to the white in intellect. Another has held that a great intellectual gulf separates the two races. And there have been many varieties of views between these two extremes." Professor Miller says, "Instead of drawing a line between races, psychological comparison demonstrates by the overlapping (of individual cases) similarity instead of difference."[2]

To-day, the scientific material is taking the form of psychological analyses through methods of objective tests. These comparative tests will eventually bring us very valuable results, but present data are far too meager for conclusions. These tests are usually in the form of exercises to try the powers of perception, memory, color discrimination, etc. Dr. Mayo[3] attempted to determine the comparative intellectual capacity of the white and Negro pupils of the high schools of New York City by the scholastic marks given them by teachers. Aside from the small number of cases he used, about 150 of each race, he assumed that (1) they worked under nearly identical conditions; (2) they pursued the same studies; (3) they were measured by the same standards; (4) they had received like elementary and grammar school training; and (5) that there is a close correspondence between scholastic efficiency and intellectual capacity.

To those who know the conditions of life of Negro youth and those of other youth in New York it is evident that the neighborhood and home conditions differ radically and that all the opportunities for use in occupations and other walks of life of high school training, which so largely determines student morale, is very different. Again, probably many of the Negroes

[1] Ferguson, George Oscar, "The Psychology of the Negro," *Archives of Psychology,* No. 36, April, 1916, Vol. XXV, No. 1, p. 1.

[2] Miller, Herbert A., "The Myth of Racial Inferiority," *The World To-morrow,* March, 1922.

[3] Mayo, Marion J., "The Mental Capacity of the American Negro," Ph.D. thesis, reprinted from the *Archives of Psychology,* No. 28.

who reached the high schools in New York had a part of their grammar school work in the South where schools are very much below those of New York or other Northern cities. To say that the scholastic efficiency of New York high schools is a measure of intellectual capacity carries evident limitations. With these and the two other assumptions, the results showed only "a difference of four points in average class standing between (the) two (racial) groups," a difference that the investigator himself counts as of little significance.

After a quantitative study[1] of white and Negro school children of the public schools of Richmond, Fredericksburg and Newport News, Virginia, while admitting that the groups studied are not typical of the white and Negro populations in general, Ferguson still reaches a conclusion that while there is practically no difference in the two races in "the so-called lower traits," . . . motor capacity, sense capacity, perceptive and discriminative ability, "the simpler receptive and discharging functions, . . . it is in the central elaborate powers upon which thought more directly depends that differences exist." He does not produce sufficient data to show that there are such and what they are so as to warrant such a conclusion.

The Virginia Educational Commission, composed of some of the nation's ablest educational experts, who studied the public schools of that state, conducted mental tests of about 20,000 pupils, white and colored, in city and non-city schools, "producing a body of information," as the report says, "never before approached in this country or any other. This material is considered by competent judges to be the most satisfactory body of measurement data which has ever been collected." Commenting on the results, from the median scores for colored children compared with those for white children for the tests in addition, spelling, reading, and handwriting in school grades III to VII inclusive, the Commission says:[2] "An examination shows that the apparent differences are not very great between the achievements of colored children and those of white children. It must be remembered, however, that in almost every grade considered colored children are on the average a year or more older and have attended school on the average a year longer than white pupils."

[1] Ferguson, work cited.

[2] Report to the General Assembly of Virginia of the Virginia Public Schools Education Commission, Richmond, 1919, p. 131.

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A SELECT READING LIST

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